MOVEMENT – 1985-1989 & *NDP Left Caucus Newsletter 1985-1989*

Correspondence, Journals & Documents – Socialist League / Forward Group

**Archival Items – 'On File' –copies available at National Archives, Ottawa*

1985

1985-03Mar11a	NDP-BC letter to NDP Caucus re: withdraw from NATO
1985-03Mar11b	Resolutions from Toronto re: Canada withdrawal from NATO
1985-03Mar11c	Edmonton NDP resolution Canada withdrawal from NATO
1985-03Mar11d	Adopted by Trinity (Toronto) NDP: resolution on NATO
1985-03Mar11e	London East resolution: NDP policy against NATO alliance
1985-03Mar14	SRDF letter to Hamilton Labour Council re pamphlet order
1985-03Mar21a	A stout defence system (defence of jury in Morgentaler case)
1985-03Mar21b	by Angie Codina and Harry Kopyto *(Toronto Globe clip)*
*1985-03Mar29	LC Conference—Public forum 'Out of NATO'
1985-04Apr23a	Letter to Eibie Weizfeld, Peace Camp, Parliament Hill
1985-04Apr23b	Left Caucus flyer ‘’Socialist strategies for peace movement’’
1985-05May00a	Open Letter to ONDP Executive re RC school funding
1985-05May00c	Resolution on Separate School Funding (Durham E. Riding)
1985-06Jun28a	(SRDF) “Report to #13 Federal Convention of the NDP”
*1985-July00	NDP Antiwar Cttee-Brief on Star Wars to Parl.Cttee
1985-07July00a	Brief by NDPPE on public funding of Catholic schools
1985-07July00b	Recommendations to the Ontario Legislature
1985-07July30a	Release: New Democrats oppose funding separate schools

1985-07July30b Slogans: It is time to FIGHT, FIGHT, FIGHT

1985-08Aug6 No more Hiroshimas, no more Chernobyls (A.C.T.)

1985-08Aug99a Biography – Gord Doctorow (nomination in York Mills)

NDP Left Caucus Newsletter (lcn) 1985-1989

1985-08Aug-lcn-v1 **LCN-**Three major victories by the Left – Anti-NATO policy

*1985-Aug-lcn-v1 Flyer – Left Caucus Conference – guest speakers

1985-09Sept00a Vote Gord Doctorow NDP" the issue that won't go away!

1985-09Sept00b Preserve Public Education—No funds for Private Schools

1985-09Sept00c Poll ballot; Bio notes, Supporters

1985-09Sept26a Election survey on education (RC) funding

1985-10Oct00 *CD* clip: "The fight against separate schools" by Doctorow

1985-10Oct26 NDP Antiwar Cttee -- "Our victory against Star Wars..."

1985-10-Fall-lcn **LCN-**NDP Update (coming events) Fundraising update

*1985-Fall-v1n2 `Flyer- Private, sectarian schools funded by public taxes?

*1985-Fall-v1n2 Flyer- Petition NDP Council against support for Liberals

1985-11Nov23a ONDP Left Caucus Conference-- Political Action

1985-11Nov25b Public funding of RC High Schools; speakers

1985-11Nov25c Letter to New Democrats urging support for resolution

1985-11Nov25d NDPPE Motion that ONDP support non-sectarian schools

1985-12Dec18a Kopyto "crazy glue" statement (from the Toronto Globe)

1985-98a *(undated, handwritten)* interview with Ross Dowson

1985-99 Unpublished notes: 'Founding of CAW' (split from UAW)

1986

1986-02Feb6a	Letter to Bob Rae NDP leader re LC position on RC funding
1986-02Feb9a	Letter to R. Allen, NDP-MLA on funding Catholic schools
1986-02Feb9b	p.3? p.2 missing? (signed) Meaghan & Doctorow, NDPPE
1986-02Feb23a	‘’Losing our soul’’ G. Doctorow (FG) Ontario NDP candidate
1986-02Feb23b	Question of socialism, Future of public education
*1986-02Feb.	Doctorow NDP brochure-funding Catholic schools (8 p-on file)
1986-02Feb24	*Globe* clip: “NDP members voice opposition to RC funding”
1986-02Feb26	*Globe* clip: “Tablet too stoney to erase” (RC funding)
1986-04Apr4a	NDPPE motion to ONDP Convention re public education
1986-04Apr4b	Letter to NDPers re resolution on financing separate schools
1986-04Apr4c	Resolutions on separate school funding; Philosophical issues
1986-04Apr4d	re Oppositon to separate schools, underfunding public ones
1986-05May00	NDPPE ballot “Let the voters decide on separate schools”
1986-05May12a	*Sun* clip: RC school fund issue 'splits us'; bumper sticker
1986-05May12b	“Rebels say left's right”: Rebick & Doctorow in NDP left wing
1986-05May-lcn-v1	**LCN-**Left Caucus supports Activist Party Campaign
1986-06June9	Letter to James Rusk, Peking, c-o: Editor, *Globe & Mail,* re: opposition currents in China and the Soviet Union
1986-06June19a	An Open Letter to NDP Delegates from NDPPE
1986-06June19g	Flyer: NDPPE Caucus meetings schedule
1986-06June19h	Flyer: NDPPE Social and cash bar (at Convention)

1986-06June19i *Cartoon*: P.C., Lib and NDP (Rae) No see, hear or speak

1986-06June21a NDPPE Memorandum: Emergency Resolution

1986-June99a (draft) Flyer: For an Activist NDP! To the Convention

1986-June99b For an Independent Socialist Canada! (The Left Caucus)

1986-09Sept14 Letter to Anne (D.) re publication of new Rivera book, etc.

1986-11Nov-lcn-v1 **LCN-**CAP and LC unite – Protest imprisoned union leader

1986-12Dec30a H. Kopyto letter to New Democcrats re his candidacy

1987

1987-02Feb-lcn-v2 Quebec NDP on Quebec – Proposals for LC Forums

**1987-Apr-V.2#2* *IB – Jan. '74 Plenum : Addison-Mack expulsions (G.A.) -- A provocation?, Great Rail strike (D.F.) -- Defined and overriding difference (J.R.) -- What it means NDP gov't is bougeois (A.Y.)*

1987-04Apr4a Letter to *I.V.,* (FI journal, France) on Canadian union autonomy

1987-04Apr4b-1 Letter to *Bulletin IDOM*, New York, re: correction on NDP

1987-06June00 (RD notes) North American free trade – *Our Generation*

1987-06Jun-lcn-v2 (Liberal-NDP) Accord ending—Defence debate at Forums

*1987-Jun-lcn-v2n2 Flyer-- 'Clear the name of the accused in Moscow Trials

1987-07July4 *Star* clip: "Activist loses appeal over RCMP forgery

1987-09Sept6a Celebrate Dowson's 70 Birthday—55 Years of struggle

1987-09Sept6b Programme: Audio-visual reminiscences & Party grouping

1987-10Oct1 SRDF: brief outline of Dowson's struggle since 1977

**1987-Oct26 IV* *Moves to rehabilitate the Moscow trials defendants » E. Mandel*

1987-11Nov5a Press Release: For the rehabilitation of Moscow Trial victims

1987-11Nov5b Clear the names of the Accused in the Moscow Trials

1987-11Nov5c A growing list of international signatories

1987-99-1 Document: Proposal for Forward Group Bylaws

1988-1989

1988-02Feb-lcn-v2 **LCN-**NDP leaders retreat from anti-war policy – Free Trade

1988-Oct ***10 12 Booklet by Arnie Mintz: ''A sketch of Ross Dowson:***

1988-11Nov-lcn-v2 **LCN_**Vote labour to power in Ottawa – NDP women's choice

1989-03Mar-lcn-v3 **LCN-**Labor opens debate – Quebec NDP – Blacks vs racism

1989-06Sum-lcn-v3 **LCN-**White says build movement –Broadbent for markets

(LCN Vol.3 No.3 & Vol.3 No.4 not available)

1989-10Oct-lcn-v3 **LCN-**NDP future depends on left – NDP voice for abortion

New Democratic Party of British Columbia

517 E. Broadway, Vancouver, B.C. V5T 1X4 879-4601

March 11, 1985.

RECEIVED / REÇU
MAR 15 1985
HOUSE OF COMMONS
CHAMBRE DES COMMUNES

Nelson Riis, M.P.,
Chairperson,
NDP Federal Caucus,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0A6

Dear Nelson:

Our Provincial Council passed the following motion at our most recent meeting:

> "Be it resolved that the provincial council of the B.C. New Democratic Party demands that the federal council and the federal caucus uphold and abide by existing NDP policy on withdrawal from NATO, NORAD, and the Defence Production Sharing Agreement."

Fraternally,

Gerry Scott

Gerry Scott,
Provincial Secretary

GS:jt
oteu 15

cc: Ed Broadbent, Federal Leader
B.C. NDP MPs

PROPOSED RESOLUTION FOR HIGH PARK-PARKDALE

Moved by Lois Bedard and John Morton

Whereas N.A.T.O. from the time of its inception, has been nothing but a military alliance, dominated by and designed to serve above all else, the government and institutions of the capitalist and imperialist United States of America, committed to the myth of stopping war by super-power deterence, and

Whereas our party is committed to socialism, to world peace, and to disarmament, above all to nuclear disarmament;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED THAT we reaffirm our position of Canadian withdrawal from N.A.T.O.

RESOLUTION TO ONDP LEFT CAUCUS CONFERENCE, MARCH 30, 1985
FROM THE STEERING COMMITTEE

Be It Resolved That the ONDP Left Caucus reaffirm its support of the federal NDP's existing out-of-NATO policy, and

Be It Further Resolved That the ONDP Left Caucus organize to defeat the leadership's proposed dumping of our out-of-NATO policy.

1. Whereas in Canada, the NDP alone has distinguished itself as the political force for nuclear disarmament.

2. Whereas NATO as a military pact, by its very nature, serves only to promote fear, reinforce the ideology of the Cold War, supports the military industrial complex and therefore acts not in our defense, but erodes our security.

3. Whereas NATO has become a first strike nuclear weapons pact.

4. Whereas Canadians will support the party that promotes a clear policy against militarism and the nuclear arms race.

5. Therefore be it resolved that the NDP in government will unconditionally withdraw Canada from NATO within its first term of office.

6. Be it further resolved that this policy become a key part of federal election campaigns and central to the onsoing work of the federal caucus.

from Edmonton, Alberta NDP Anti-War Committee

(Found in 1985) 1985

204 Adopted by Trinity NDP

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES: THE NDP, NATO, AND THE PEACE MOVEMENT

WHEREAS President Reagan, the acknowledged leader of the NATO alliance, maintains a confrontational posture and upholds the most simplistic views on relations between the superpowers, and persists in dangerous acceleration of the nuclear arms race through cruise missle deployment and the development of a "Star Wars" strategic capability in space;

AND WHEREAS the Canadian people have long expressed their support for a foreign policy of international reconciliation and cooperation, based on the United Nations and its agencies;

AND WHEREAS such a foreign policy is fundamentally at odds with longstanding policies of the U.S. State Department, which supports and engages in both armed intervention and covert subversion in and against other sovereign nations, and which refuses to acknowledge World Court jurisdiction over such actions;

AND WHEREAS the fundamental principles of the New Democratic Party are directly opposed to NATO's historic policies towards Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America;

AND WHEREAS NATO's claim to represent democracy has been forever called into question by its complicity in the dictatorship imposed on the people of Greece, and through its direct material support of the former Portuguese dictatorship in a colonial war against African peoples;

AND WHEREAS the NDP has always upheld the principle that a strong and vibrant peace movement is necessary to prevent the annihilation of life in nuclear war, and joins the majority of Canadian people in desiring a government commitment to peace through the reduction of nuclear weapons and testing by all sides;

AND WHEREAS the true interests of humanity can only be served by implementing active policies of peace through the allocation of resources for the elimination of world famine and cooperative assistance to "developing" countries;

AND WHEREAS being a member of NATO prejudices Canada's role in achieving the above-mentioned policies and continues to raise the spectre of U.S. nuclear weapons stationed on Canadian soil;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the NDP reaffirms its long-standing policy on NATO, and continues its support of the peace movement in its effort to secure a safer and more just world.

WHEREAS the NDP recognizes that growing global militarism, fostered by both the NATO and Warsaw alliances, is an increasing threat to national and international democratic institutions, and

WHEREAS the NDP recognizes that NATO members have consistently been in violation of Article #1 of its treaty which commits "the parties to refrain from the threat or use of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations, and

WHEREAS throughout the 36 year history of NATO it has been dominated by the U.S.A. and

WHEREAS the centre-piece of NATO military strategy is the first use of nuclear weapons, and

WHEREAS even a limited nuclear war could create a climatic catastrophe which scientists refer to as a "nuclear winter", and

WHEREAS the NDP is strongly opposed to the militarization of outer space and NATO membership deters Canada from condemming the U.S. "star wars" scenario (S.D.I.), and

WHEREAS Canada's primary military commitments should be identified as peace-keeping together with the maintenance of Canadian sovereignty along our maritime coastlines, and

WHEREAS Canada must strengthen the United Nations and other international institutions which are committed to peace, justice, and the non-violent resolution of international conflicts,

THEREFORE be it resolved and confirmed again that an NDP Government will not be a member of the NATO alliance,

Be it further resolved that the NDP commit the necessary resources to educating its members and the Canadian public on this issue.

Moved by: Tina Zink

Seconded by: Joe Barth } London East.

We will be willing to be active & help out re: convention floor activities!

(Sent on SRDF letterhead)

March 14, 1985

Wm. C. Thompson
secretary of the Hamilton & District Labour Council
1025 Barton Street East
Hamilton, Ont. L8L 3E3

Dear Sir and Brother

We received your letter with regards to the videotape RCMP on Trial only a matter of days ago, although it is dated Feb 22 . Impossible to justify and hard to explain - but in the hope that it will still be useful we are sending a copy along under separate cover registered mail

I think that it will measure up to the Rights Committees anticipations

sincerely

Harry Paine

We are sending you a copy from the master held by City TV. There is no trouble with making copies for wider circulation should anyone want to do so

A stout defence

MARCH 21 1985

BY ANGIE CODINA
and HARRY KOPYTO

Ms Codina and Mr. Kopyto are Toronto lawyers.

THE ACQUITTAL of Dr. Henry Morgentaler by a jury earlier this year, in the face of his defiance of the law, has brought the debate over the jury system to the fore again.

Many critics of the verdict attacked the jury system for bias, while Ontario's Attorney-General contended that the jury had no right to ignore the law.

This debate has been highlighted by other developments that have eroded the right to civil and criminal trials by one's peers to the point where many lawyers believe the jury system is becoming obsolete. These include growing prosecutorial discretion in deciding the availability of jury trials and the elimination of jury trials for many offences. In civil cases, a variety of suits, including wrongful dismissal and medical malpractice cases, are being removed in increasing numbers from juries.

Critics of the jury system stress that juries are swayed by emotionalism. They argue that judges are immune from pressures that affect juries.

The evidence indicates that the opposite is true. In the opinion of many experienced counsel, juries do a remarkably good job. Geoffrey Adair, former chairman of the civil litigation section of the Canadian Bar Association, thinks that juries bring "common sense and common standards of morality to civil cases. Six people are much better than a single judge in making decisions, since they offset each other's passions and prejudices in reaching a consensus." In his opinion, juries are more predictable than emotional because they have a tendency to render a fair verdict.

The accusation that jury trials are slow and expensive is often made. However, only 5 per cent of trials are heard by juries in Canada. The cost of jury duty is kept to a minimum by austere jury-room facilities and nominal jurors' fees.

The length of jury trials is only slightly greater than non-jury cases and could be shortened even more by the elimination of procedural technicalities. A more serious cause of lengthy trials arises from the increased laying of conspiracy and other convoluted charges which result in months-long marathon hearings.

Another argument frequently made against juries is that they lack the expertise to deal with complex legal questions. However, Donald Vinson, a University of California sociologist of law, points out that the majority of jury trials involve straightforward issues. "You don't need a PhD to understand these cases." Mr. Adair points out that juries have sat on numerous complex murder trials and lengthy civil suits, such as the Hamilton dredging case. "If juries can handle these cases, at what point does it get too technical?"

Jurors (top) return to court in Mo

Toronto civil litigation lawyer Charles Campbell believes that "the reduction of technical information to an easily understood form "is a benefit of the jury system rather than a problem". He is critical of what he perceives to be "a tendency to delegate to 'experts' rather than simplifying facts".

Another charge levelled against juries is their tendency to be biased. The Emanuel Jaques murder trial in Toronto, however, is one of many examples where juries have carefully weighed evidence in the face of popular perceptions of guilt in order to acquit the innocent. One of the four men charged in connection with the murder was acquitted.

While juries have been known to render controversial decisions, as in the Morgentaler case, history has shown that such decisions in the past have been a spur to judicial reform. Only when juries repeatedly acquitted persons charged with a variety of minor crimes, such as theft, did the British Parliament eliminate the death penalty for dozens of these infractions. The Law Reform Commission of Canada views juries "as the citizen's ultimate protection against oppressive laws . . . In the great majority of cases the jury obviously applies the law and in the rare

e system

rgentaler case. Above: the funeral of shoeshine boy Emanuel Jaques.

case where it, in effect, nullifies the law, the social good caused by such a 'revolt against the law' outweighs whatever dangers may arise."

Judges have a tendency to be hardened to the realities of the courtroom drama. The ends of justice sometimes require more than a review of ancient legal precedent culled from dusty tomes. Many lawyers instinctively appreciate the ability of a jury to discern fact from fiction, right from wrong. In the words of one, Paul Copeland, when asked how important juries are to the legal system, "On a scale of one to 10, I would say 11."

The feeling is not unanimous. In Canada, there are probably fewer than 500 lawyers who do 10 or more jury trials a year. The trend is away from juries because law firms are not confident of convincing lay people. In presenting a case to a judge, completely different arguments are often used. Many civil litigation experts believe they can present their case in a more convincing manner to a judge than to a jury.

While some lawyers avoid jury trials on the basis that the verdicts are too unpredictable, it is probable that lawyers with weak cases would prefer a trial before a judge alone in the hopes of winning their case on a technicality. In many major urban firms, it is possible to find senior litigation counsel who have seldom argued before juries.

The jury system in Canada is already emasculated. Ours is the only common-law jurisdiction permitting an appeal from a jury acquittal. The jury selection process in criminal trials, based on realty tax assessment roles, tends to produce disproportionately middle-class jury panels. The procedural privileges given the prosecution in most criminal cases literally grants them the right to set aside most prospective jurors without cause or explanation.

In civil cases, where the right to trial by jury is already excluded by common-law principles from suits against the Government and in numerous other instances, some judges routinely strike out jury notices in cases posing any possibility of complexity.

More concerned with fairness and justice than with technical legalities, juries bring to the courtrooms a sense of popular input and public control. The result is that the system stays in touch with the standards of the ordinary person.

Juries play a more important role than undoing unjust laws and spurring badly needed reforms in the judicial system. They act as the community's check on the legal system, ensuring that the public trust placed in the judiciary is not abused. By injecting community values into the system, they guarantee that popular standards are not shuffled out of existence by an overly rigid obedience to precedent and tradition. In the jury trial, the final arbiter is humanity.

April 23, 1985
Ross Dowson, #2311
40 Homewood Ave.
Toronto, Ont., M4Y2K2

Eibie Weizfeld
Peace Camp, Parliament Hill
Room 639-C
House of Commons, Ottawa, Ont. K1A 0A6

Dear Abie:

Thanks for the raft of material that you forwarded me. I am passing it around.

The fracason the hill is getting big coverage on TV. The resistance is a good thing. The points are well made. The government and police come across as idiotic---victorious-but phyrric victors. It is good to see the NDP,even if probably reluctant,come through as supporters--Cassidy and Jewett etc. I see the "Hill's" official peace representatives have also swung over to support the camp. Who knows to what lengths officialdom may adjust to maintain the myth of "the people's" parliament. --particularly when we are so far from making their myth our realirty.

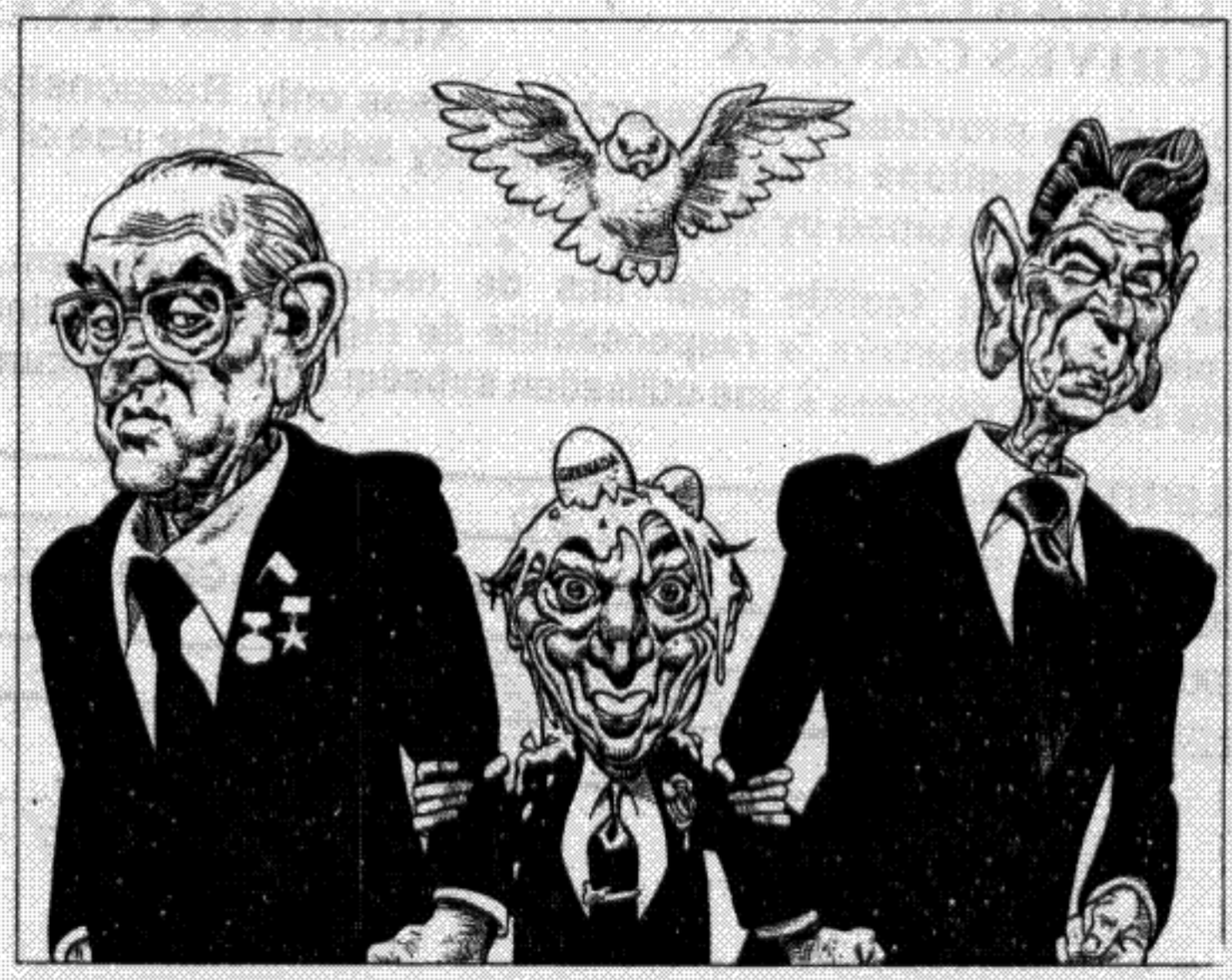
The non-interventionist action headed up by Barry Weisledder was a stunning success--over three thousand turned up. I camedown from the print shop to join in but it was already wekk under way. I am enclosing the proof of what Gord and I were working on at Action Press.
Gord told me today that the York Mills election team think that it is terrific. It is going to be delivered to every postal drop by the mail workers - which is very good as the riding is spread out and could n't possible be covered by the distributing team. OSSTF is quite impresse and is picking up the tab. This leaflet,dealing with only the one issue which is the most controversal and can only increase in ipmact as we mov towards election day. Gord has been before Lewis and Brigden for publicly disagreeing with official policy where he carried the line that the party should be open to such differences,and as you can see he has the support of the union movement which is the party's main base. This coming Saturday OSSTF's caravan will be swinging in to York Mills for the day We hear that an increasing number of candidates are expressinge opposition to the brass's support of funding of Catholic high schools--sheit looks all the brass can do is sit and fume.

Well if you cant go any further than where you are in proving you are the encampment is to be worth whil

More power to your elbows--with socialist greetings

Ross Dowson

Socialist Strategies for the Peace Movement



Bloor Collegiate Institute

1141 Bloor Street West

(near Dufferin Subway Station)

7:30 p.m. Tuesday April 17, 1984

Speakers: **David Kraft**
Toronto Disarmament Network

Kimberley Wilde
NDP Anti-war Committee

Anne Swarbrick
Metro Toronto Labour Council

Richard Johnston
M.P.P.

CANADA OUT OF NATO
NATO OUT OF CANADA
NDP ANTI WAR COMMITTEE

Sponsored by the
Ontario NDP Left Caucus

For further information on the O.N.D. Left Caucus contact:

David Tomczak 536-6561 Mary Rowles 469-1404

Plan to participate in Toronto Regional Pre-Convention Meetings — June 6 and June 14

to all mgs + pres

May 1985

OPEN LETTER TO ONDP PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE

The 1985 Ontario provincial election demonstrated that the extension of funding to Roman Catholic high schools is a central issue. More than that: several defeated Conservative cabinet ministers, various journalists and editorial writers, many candidates and campaign workers concur that this issue contributed seriously to the setback to the Conservative government. Clearly, public opinion is aroused and indignant about a move which is so arbitrary and potentially destructive to public, secular education. The opinion polls showed a public shift from two-thirds in favor of extension of funding in the January Decima survey to 52 percent opposed in the end-of-April Toronto Star poll.

It is not good enough for our party to stand on a policy adopted 15 years ago in the face of a great public skepticism expressed at the grass roots. We feel the party must immediately respond to the public's message.

We pride ourselves on being a sensitive, democratic, and open party. We say we reflect the needs of ordinary people. Let us demonstrate that by moving to put the legislative agenda on separate schools on hold. We need time to discuss and reflect among ourselves. We need to exchange views on our understanding of what is at stake.

Therefore, we, the undersigned, call upon the party to:

(1) adopt a position of moratorium on implementation of extension of separate-school-funding legislation pending a constitutional ruling on its legality;

(2) open up an extensive and thorough dialogue within the party by means of circulation of written position papers, forums for debate and policy review culminating in a party resolution at the next provincial convention.

NAME	IDENTIFICATION
Don Alexander	Candidate, Kent-Elgin
Liz Barkley	D. 13 President OSSTF
Esther Bissoon	Prov. Councillor York Mills
Malcolm Buchanan	President OSSTF
Michael Cooper	Candidate, Kitchener-Wilmot
Pamela Cross	Candidate, Kingston
Jerry Daca	Candidate, Scarborough North
Gord Doctorow	Candidate, York Mills
Lawrence Fine	Bellwoods
Meg Griffiths	Candidate, St. Andrew-St. Patrick
Jim Head	Vice-President OSSTF
Art Jaszczyk	York Centre NDP
Joan Joel	President, York Mills NDP
Phillip Jones	Candidate, York West
Joanne Kates	Journalist
Jeff Koechlin	Candidate, Dufferin-Simcoe
Sheila Lambrinos	Trustee, North York
Maurice Landry	Candidate, Prescott & Russell
George Martel	Education Lecturer
Diane Meaghan	Candidate, York Centre

NAME	IDENTIFICATION
Sheila Meagher	Trustee, Toronto
Barbara Mersereau	Candidate, Lincoln
Penny Moss	Chairman, Toronto Bd. of Ed.
Leon Muszynski	Social Policy Analyst
Manfred Netzel	Exec. Member, Parkdale NDP
Murray Paulin	Treasurer, York Mills NDP
Mary Rowles	OPSEU staff
Don Smith	Candidate, Fort William
Doug Smith	Candidate, Durham East
Mildred Smith	Exec. Member, Spadina NDP
Peter Sutherland	Candidate, Humber
Dave Tomczak	Past President, Metro NDP
Vi Thompson	Prov. Councillor Don Mills
David Winninger	Candidate, London South
Errol Young	Trustee, North York

For further information, contact:

Gord Doctorow
(416) 493-6829
55 Picola Court
Willowdale, Ont.
M2H 2N2

Diane Meaghan
(416) 477-2321
163 Carlton Road
Unionville, Ont.
L3R 3L7

Peter Sutherland
(416) 622-2023
570 The West Mall, Suite 9
Etobicoke, Ont.
M9C 1G9

Resolution on Separate School Funding

WHEREAS the Metro Toronto Labour Council has publicly taken the position that extended funding to Separate Schools could seriously jeopardize our public school system,

AND WHEREAS such extension of funding could potentially open up the doors to public funding of private and other religious schools,

AND WHEREAS during the recent provincial election campaign, public opinion polls and public reaction at the door clearly indicates significant resistance to the principle and proposed implementation of such funding,

AND WHEREAS the democratic socialist party is compelled to support a well run, free and well funded, public and non-denominational education system,

BE IT RESOLVED THAT:

(1) The provincial executive of the ONDP call for an emergency provincial council meeting and debate on the extension of funding to Catholic Highschools after grade 10 in advance of the party caucus of committing itself to position - vote in the legislature,

(2) The ONDP advocate a moratorium on the implementation of such funding in order to allow a fully open party discussion on all aspects of the funding issue with the objective of re-examing existing party policy,

(3) Position papers on all aspects of the funding issue be solicited and destributed prior to the council meeting to all executives for discussions to enable informed discussion on this debate.

SUBMITTED BY THE DURHAM EAST RIDING ASSOCIATION

SRDF

A REPORT TO THE DELEGATES OF THE THIRTEENTH FEDERAL CONVENTION OF THE NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN OTTAWA, JUNE 28 - JULY 1, 1985.

> The tenth annual convention adopted a resolution, Point 5 of which resolved "that the party encourage support for a variety of efforts directed towards establishing the legitimacy of dissident, socialist and Marxist thought, including ... the legal suit of Ross Dowson for slander against RCMP allegations that he and other Waffle supporters and members were subversive".

Who would have thought when Toronto socialist Ross Dowson launched a slander suit against the RCMP, that now, some eight years later, his efforts to get justice would still be bottled up in the courts by Canada's political and legal establishment?

Dowson and his lawyers initiated the suit at the height of the revelations of RCMP violations of civil rights following the admission before the Ontario parliament that the NDP had been a victim of RCMP harassment. The grounds were that in its ranks were persons who the federal police branded as "subversives", including the Waffle and others such as the leaders of the now defunct League for Socialist Action.

That suit which went before the Supreme Court of Canada was dismissed on the same basis that a suit initiated by Nurse Susan Nelles (Hospital for Sick Children) was recently dismissed -- on the grounds of absolute privilege -- the immunity of the Crown from prosecution.

Since then, backed by the Socialist Rights Defence Fund, supported by almost every labour council in the country and Canadians from every walk of life, both "ordinary" and eminent, Dowson's efforts have been batted back and forth from one court level to another, in the course of which the shocking record of RCMP law breaking continued to unravel.

In March 1979 following Dowson's testimony before the Ontario Royal Commission of Inquiry headed by Judge Krever, the RCMP confessed to having forged, uttered and circulated false documents with the aim of destabilizing and destroying the LSA, a dissident but completely legitimate organization. Judge Krever scored the RCMP for imposing the same "thought control" that government authorities had used against the leaders of the historic 1919 Winnipeg General Strike. At the same time his commission condemned such labour spy, private police forces as the now defunct Securicor, recently heavily fined by the Ontario Labour Relations Board for its union-busting efforts which succeeded in driving the Steelworkers Union from the Texas-based Tandy Corporation's Radio Shack operations in Toronto.

Following that, in April 1980, the Royal Commission of Inquiry into RCMP "wrong doings", headed up by Judge McDonald, released in advance of its main report, almost 750 pages of heavily censored and sanitized "top secret" material on Operation Checkmate. With the RCMP having destroyed all records on the eve of its opening session, the inquiry was compelled to rely on what certain officers recalled from memory. The report outlined 14 "dirty tricks". Only three persons and two organizations were named, all but one appearing in Case 13. It is probable that the exposure of this case was instrumental in the RCMP's even admitting to the existence of the Checkmate witch hunt Operation, as Case 13 dealt with the information that first became public knowledge when RCMP officers confessed following Dowson's appearance before the Commission.

Immediately following the March 1979 RCMP confessions before Judge Krever, Dowson's lawyers sought to lay charges against individual RCMP officers. These efforts were blocked at every turn until October 1983 when the Supreme Court of Canada overruled the Ontario Court decisions, re-affirming the fundamental and historic right of a private citizen to lay criminal charges, and directing a justice of the peace to hear charges and rule whether there were sufficient grounds to get to trial. Notwithstanding this ruling, almost 6 years later in May of this year SRDF lawyer Kopyto's attempts to get the court to set a deadline for the process to get underway, were repulsed by the Supreme Court of Canada. Finally, later in May, Justice of the Peace James Allen ruled that there was insufficient evidence to lay charges against retired RCMP Assistant Commissioner Chisholm who had been in overall charge of Operation Checkmate, but suggested that "RCMP Superintendent Yaworski and other members of the RCMP may have been involved with the allegations you brought to my attention".

→p. 2

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At a late November 1982 session of a House of Commons Committee, under the proddings of the NDP justice critic, the solicitor general admitted that there would be no federal government prosecutions of RCMPers who on innumerable occasions admitted to breaking innumerable laws that they were sworn to uphold. It was on June 21, 1984, in one of its final acts that Trudeau's Liberal Party government, with the aid of the Progressive Conservatives, once and for all tried to rid itself of the stench that had been engulfing Ottawa for almost a decade by jamming through legislation reincarnating the discredited RCMP in the form of a new Canadian Security Intelligence Service.

Upon the inability of his party to block its passage by a filibuster, NDP Justice critic Svend Robinson, comparing that day to the day in 1970 when the Liberals with the support of the Progressive Conservatives proclaimed the War Measures Act, and to the day when Canadians of Japanese origin were divested of all their belongings and incarcerated in concentration camps, declared: "In the name of protecting our national security, the government brings forward legislation which could ultimately destroy our fundamental civil liberties and privacy ...our children will look back on this day and say that indeed this was a dark day for democracy in this country: a dark day for freedom".

Despite the criminal cover-ups by the federal authorities and the rigid and extreme anti-working class bias of the Canadian "justice" system, the Dowson suit still goes on. It will come before a Toronto Small Claims Court on October 8. And its lawyers are preparing to once again attempt to lay criminal charges against RCMP officers in an Ontario court. It still needs your help in publicity and funds. Forward them to the Socialist Rights Defence Fund, c/o Harry Paine, 737 Manning Avenue, Toronto, M6G 2W5.

BRIEF SUBMITTED TO THE ALL-PARTY SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE OF THE ONTARIO LEGISLATURE

By: NEW DEMOCRATS TO PRESERVE PUBLIC EDUCATION

On: THE EXTENSION OF PUBLIC FUNDING TO THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SEPARATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

July, 1985

RECOMMENDATIONS

The New Democrats to Preserve Public Education make the following recommendations to the Legislative Assembly of Ontario.

1. That the government of Ontario immediately cease the planning and implementation of any public funding to grades 11, 12 and 13 in the separate school system.
2. That the government of Ontario immediately withdraw the legislation (Bill 30) which is now before the Legislature, proposing such funding.
3. That the government of Ontario declare all secondary-level education above grade 8, private education unless it is within the public school system.
4. That the partial funding currently provided to Roman Catholic separate schools for grades 9 and 10 be progressively phased out so that within three years, government grants will have completely ceased to those two grades.
5. That the public school system from kindergarten through to, and including, grade 13, become a truly secular system of education by removing prayers and religious exercises from the laws and regulations currently in force.
6. That under no circumstances should government grants be allocated to any private schools whatsoever at the elementary or secondary school levels.
7. That government grants to the public school system be immediately increased, with phased-in increases over the next 3 years, to achieve the restoration of the proportion of government funding to elementary and secondary schools which existed in Ontario in 1975 (ie. 60%). Such levels of increase would enable the education component levied on property taxpayers to be considerably reduced.
8. That the government organize a referendum throughout Ontario at the time of the November 1985 municipal elections which solicits the voters' opinions on the proposed extension of public funding to the Roman Catholic separate secondary schools.
9. That the government establish a Royal Commission to examine the philosophy and administration of secondary school education in the province of Ontario with the view of formulating a plan for the next 20 years.

BRIEF SUBMITTED TO THE ALL-PARTY SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE OF THE ONTARIO LEGISLATURE

By: NEW DEMOCRATS TO PRESERVE PUBLIC EDUCATION

On: THE EXTENSION OF PUBLIC FUNDING TO THE ROMAN CATHOLIC SEPARATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

July, 1985

The Process of Democracy

Regretfully, we are disappointed with the process and practice of democracy in the evolution of the extension of public funding to separate secondary schools. It began with Premier Davis's most surprising speech of the 12th of June 1984, in which he reversed his previous, long-held policy of extension of funding beyond the grade 10 level. The reasons for this amazing volte-face we do not know, but, needless to say, his speech produced astonishment and, in some circles, cynicism. From what we know, the Cabinet, the Minister of Education and the Conservative caucus had little to say about the final decision.

The three parties were unanimous on the issue, but the Conservatives did nothing to bring in the promised bill. During the election, none of the parliamentary parties sought a mandate from the electorate on the proposed secondary school funding legislation. The Conservatives had not revealed the contents of the legislation. No party included the issue in their election platform or made it a central issue of debate. Insofar as the parties dealt with the issue, they did so in response to dissident candidates and the pressure of public audiences.

The precise details, plans of action and future ramifications of the plans were never revealed to the public. As in the 1971 election, the electorate showed no discernible support for the extension of funding and, as reported in the April, 1985 Toronto Star survey 52% were opposed. For those who doubt the nature of this opposed sentiment, they need only recall the post-election statements made by several defeated Tory cabinet ministers, including the ex-premier himself, Mr. Miller, who attributed their political decline to public dissatisfaction with the handling of this issue. In what appears to us as a cynical move, the Tories responded by delaying the proposed bill which had gone through nine drafts over a 12-month period.

It remained for the Liberals in government, supported by the New Democratic

Party , to pick up where the Tories left off. Now the Liberal government has embarked on a legislative forced march to push through the extension of funding to Roman Catholic secondary schools. The Liberal government, for its part, responding to public discontent, decided to initiate a court referral on the validity of the proposed legislation. However, at the same time, the government is resorting to an undemocratic method of achieving its goals, by the use of an Order-in-Council to extend the funding in the absence of enabling legislation.

The Liberal government has now produced Bill 30 and, at the moment, but for one exception, all members of the Legislature are, because of party discipline, locked into voting for the bill. By contrast, when Bill 127 was an issue before the Legislature, both opposition parties at the time - Liberal and NDP - opposed the Conservative government's attempt to hold hearings during the summer. The former opposition presented as a rationale the fact that the summer was an inappropriate time for educational matters to be raised in view of the conflict with school holidays. In stunning contrast, Bill 30, whose implications for education are far more fundamental and far-reaching, is to be discussed during the summer and not from the point of view of fundamental principle, but only in terms of minor changes to the bill.

The lack of time for real debate on the issue has now been exacerbated by the July 4th statement of the Minister of Education, Mr. Conway who announced that legislation was not required to commence the funding of Grade 11 for September of this year. He said that large sums of money will be granted for separate secondary schools by cabinet decree for September; yet legislation will not be in place for the transfer of an estimated $64.2 million to administer the high school program for grades 9,10 and 11. In addition, $6.9 million allocated for bussing, $3 million for use in 115 portable classrooms and for leases on space to accomodate new students, as well as an estimated $67 million for renovations, will also be granted. All this public money and additional funds will be transferred to the separate secondary schools without proper legislation and purely by cabinet decree. It makes a mockery of due process and devalues the democratic procedures of parliamentary government.

In order to allow the public to have real democratic input and choice on the issue of separate secondary school funding, we recommend that a referendum be presented to the people of Ontario at the time of the November 1985 municipal elections. Such a referendum should be suitably and properly worded to reflect the wishes of the population and then placed on the municipal ballot. Obviously, it would be incumbent upon the government not to proceed with the third reading of Bill 30 until the results of the referendum have been tabulated and assessed, and

subsequently , if Bill 30 fails to obtain majority support, funding should be withdrawn.

A Socialist Perspective

Our point of view was aptly summed up by the late David Lewis, a leading architect of the NDP in his book, A Socialist Takes Stock. He said that the principle aim of democratic socialism is " a classless or egalitarian society... Socialists have proclaimed as their goal a society from which exploitation will be eliminated; where every person will have an equal opportunity to share in a rich and varied life and to develop his (or her) talents, whatever they may be, to the full..." This attitude of equality of opportunity and classlessness permeates our thinking about the public school system.

Socialists around the world have consistently favored a secular, publicly-funded and publicly-owned educational system for all youth, while rejecting systems of education based upon private wealth, racial or gender privilege, and also upon religious division, sect or denomination.

There are historic reasons for our ideological commitment to secular public education, based on socialism's struggle for fundamental progressive change. The member parties of the Socialist International have ideologically been in strong agreement on the need to develop educational systems which unite the people rather than promoting systems of education which divide. This flows from the conviction that the road to achieving a society based on cooperative commonwealth is through the development of social unity. To foster this unity among citizens it is necessary to remove the barrier of religious sectarianism, especially in the intellectually formative stages of youth. Socialists believe there is nothing more pernicious to the progress of society than separating youth on the basis of religion or any other criteria.

A case in point is the saga of the Pervin family in Windsor. The parents sent their daughter, Summer, to the local Roman Catholic elementary school for a French-language based program. At the tender age of seven, Summer came home from school and told her parents that only baptized children find their way into heaven, according to the report in the June 7th, 1985 Globe and Mail. Summer is the unbaptized child of a Jewish father and a Catholic mother. Both were extremely upset when at age eight, Summer reported that she was told at school that Jews killed Christ. Not only is it repulsive, in the wake of the Holocaust, to have such ideas presented in a publicly-funded educational system to a child of Jewish heritage, but it is equally heinous that it should be standard fare for the young and impres-

sionable minds of the Catholic children attending the school. There are no accountability mechanisms which would allow the taxpayers of this province to know how widespread the dissemination of these ideas are within separate schools.

In Europe, there has been an historic struggle on sectarian versus secular systems of education, with the socialist parties supporting secular schools and the Christian Democratic parties supporting religious and private education. Socialists support a secular public school system of education because our history and ideology involves radical progressive change , and denominational and private systems invariably are inimical to those changes. Expanding the separate school system is not just an administrative and educational change, but is a highly political act which socialists view with a degree of alarm.

As socialists, we are in solidarity with the struggles of workers to organize for a better life. We support the efforts of teachers to improve conditions of work and the educational system itself. In 1984, when the separate school teachers in Sudbury were on strike to improve among other things, the pupil-teacher ratios in the schools, parish priests moblized strike-breaking activities by calling on parishioners to keep the schools open. Evidently religious fealty confronted the teachers' professionalism and the majority of teachers chose to struggle for progressive change. The Church, on the other hand, became the immovable object of the status quo. We support the strike efforts of the Roman Catholic teachers and we go further by reaffirming the democratic and socialist principle of separation of church and state to advance social progress.

One of the cornerstones of the socialist movement is the principle notion that all people (women and men, youth and elderly, workers and employers) have equal rights as citizens. Feminism stresses that women, 52% of the population in Ontario, must have equality under the law and in socioeconomic spheres of life. We believe in the need to redress the historic wrongs that have been committed against women. Further, we consider many of the principles espoused by the separate school system to be in contradiction to the advancement of women in society. To make equality a reality, it is necessary to have legislated affirmative action programs. Left to the vicissitudes of the " market-place " or the whims of the old-boys' network, women will remain in an inferior position as a source of cheap and compliant labor. This applies particularly to the school system where role models are formed. We concur with the sentiments expressed by the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, 1970 that stated, " equal opportunity for education is fundamental. Education opens the door to almost every life door. Wherever (women and men) are denied equal accesss to education they cannot be said to have achieved equality. "

The rigid and sexist hierarchical structure of the Roman Catholic church undermines the movement toward gender equality. For example, women are considered in the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church to be ineligible for such authoritative positions as priests, bishops or the pope. This view has the imprimatur of the pope himself as confirmed by a speech he made on his recent trip to Canada. Affirmative action means that women are hired, trained, promoted and rewarded on an equal basis with men in all job categories and further, are actively promoted to positions that have been historically inaccessible to them. More specifically, we can point to the example of the Lakehead Separate School Board that last winter voted down the principle of affirmative action within the board. While it is true in the public school system that we are a long way from equality between men and women; nonetheless it must be said that the public school system is qualitatively more subject to pressure from society for reform. We can point to the example of the North York and Toronto Boards of Education which have voluntarily adopted affirmative action programs.

Sexist socialization distorts and limits human relationships. It does not define a person's position in both the public and private spheres of society on the basis of individual merit, intellect, capability and interest, but rather on the basis of rigidly assigned gender roles.

There is a growing recognition in civilized society that marriage ought to be an equal partnership and in harmony with the changing laws and social sentiments, and this is finding its way into the curriculum of the public school system. In contrast, Roman Catholic doctrine prevents its adherents from absorbing such progressive influences, and lives by the dictum that in marriage the man is the head of the household and the woman is the heart. These ideas pervade the curriculum of the Roman Catholic school system and are counterposed to socialist principles.

It is a primary tenet of socialism and feminism that women should have the right to control their bodies and have reproductive choice. A woman's right to use contraceptive techniques and seek an abortion must be upheld if she is to be seen as a fully autonomous person in society. Roman Catholic teachings dictate that the only legitimate role of sexual activity is for the fundamental purpose of procreation and within marriage. Their educational system, by necessity, inculcates a narrow view that fails to prepare women and men for the realities of modern life.

We recognize the deeply held convictions of those who regard abortion as wrong on moral grounds; however we reject the idea that such groups have the right to impose their views on society in the context of education, dogmatically asserting

their exclusive view. A case in point is the bussing of Catholic school children, under the aegis of the school authorities in an organized demonstration, to the Toronto Morgentaler clinic, with the deliberate purpose of closing the clinic. Government funding of such schools constitutes a bias against womens' rights at public expense.

Legal History in Ontario

Over the last 25 years, Ontario has changed dramatically, and the population through immigration, especially in the larger urban centres, has become culturally and religiously far more diverse than ever before. We have become a very cosmopolitan province. To attempt to fit this cultural mosaic into two religious forms, either Roman Catholic or Protestant, is absurd, as it leaves large numbers of the population totally out of such an understanding. In addition to those people whose ancestors have never been in these two camps, there are very large numbers of citizens whose ancestral ties are with the Roman Catholics or Protestants but today have to be considered as non-practising. We live in an increasingly secular society and the institutions and laws of the land must reflect this change if such laws and institutions are not to be regarded as arcane and archaic.

Therefore, to justify the public funding of Roman Catholic separate secondary schools almost entirely by historical argument strikes us as regressive and as a completely unsound method of reasoning. Can it honestly be said that the survival of Confederation today hinges on extending the privileges of the Roman Catholic community? Why should the government of Ontario try to fit a massive change in its educational system into the confines of a society which pertained 120 years ago? If the government wishes to make major alterations to the administration of secondary schooling, it would be wiser to look at the present and plan for the future, rather than obsessively looking into the distant past when Ontario was a totally different society.

Before major changes are made in the system of secondary education, we would request that the government establish a Royal Commission to review and examine the administration of secondary-level education in the province, and to plan the system for the next 20 years. This Royal Commission would be forward-looking and should produce answers which would be in tune with our contemporary society and our vision of the future.

The government believes that it has the legal capacity to enhance the position of separate schools in Ontario beyond that enjoyed at the time of Confederation, and to go even further by assuming that there is a constitutional and moral require-

ment to do so. This ground was gone over in the greatest detail almost sixty years ago at the highest legal levels in Canada and should now be reiterated to remind the government of the limits of its constitutional requirements.

Section 93 of the British North America Act received a full review in the famous test case " Roman Catholic Separate School Trustees for Tiny Township vs. The King, 1927". This case was appealed from the Supreme Court of Ontario to the Supreme Court of Canada and finally to the Judicial Committe of the Privy Council.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council's decision determined that there was no legal obligation under the Consitution to provide public funding for separate secondary schools. Therefore, it must be stressed that there is no constitutional obligation, moral or legal, to provide funds for separate schools after grade 8 in this province. The Ontario government might assist separate secondary schools, by proper legislation, but there is certainly no constitutional or moral reason why it should do so.

Therefore, it is clear that public funds which are directed to grades 9 to 13 inclusively are strictly the result of a decision of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario, without the establishment of a constitutional or moral obligation to provide such assistance.

Bill 30 breaks and dishonors " those contracts and obligations that were struck to create a united Canada in 1867 " (W. G. Davis, June 12th 1984). As Viscount Haldane noted in the 1928 Tiny Township case, the implied and understood obligation with respect to secondary education - as opposed to elementary education - was " to mold the educational system in the interests of the public at large, as distinguished from any section of it, however important. " The three political parties represented in the Legislature appear to be responding to a political claim of the moment, and in so doing are turning their backs on the obligations, understandings and agreements which date from Confederation and indeed pre-Confederation.

Separation of Church and State

Socialists, among many other groups, believe in the democratic doctrine of separation of church and state. The involvement of religion, particularly a single religion, in the affairs of the state leads to acrimony from groups who do not share or accept the tenets or views of that religion. Religious freedom is best maintained by a clear separation of church and state as the Americans perceived very early on in the history of the United States.

State support for a single church discriminates against all other churches, religions and those who do not practice a religion. According to the 1981 census

conducted by Statistics Canada, there are 34 distinct religious categories in Ontario society. The fourth largest of these, some 620,000, is the group described as " no religious preference". Such state support institutionalizes the state in religious matters, and vice versa, with all the dangers that are incurred by such involvement. It is our view that the state should be secular, and religion should be left to the conscience of the individual.

With this principle in mind, it is quite clear that the last vestiges of the Protestant religion must be removed from the public school system. Regulations requiring prayers and other religious exercises in the public school system must be removed to enable the system to become truly secular and completely non-denominational. The public school system must become an institution where children of every religion and the non-religious find themselves completely at ease and, in no way, felt to be outsiders. This can only be achieved if the public school system is rendered completely secular.

Liberty, Equality and Fraternity

The principle of religious liberty and the freedom from religious discrimination are highly valued in our pluralistic society. We refer to the words of Dr. Bette Stephenson, Minister of Education, October 11th 1983, when she commented that ..." I think it is important and necessary to reaffirm the general merit and the value of a universally accessible, publicly supported school system, a system which I believe contributes to consensus and is a countervailing force against social fragmentation. In a pluralistic society such as ours, which can be characterized as multicultural, multiracial and multilingual, a shared educational experience is important in fostering a common culture. Unity through shared experiences can be a countervailing force to factors which split and fragment society. Indeed, the school system may well be the only common, noncommercial learning and socializing experience for our young people. "

The public funding of separate secondary schools clearly infringes upon the principle of freedom from religious discrimination if the state favors one religion and then discriminates against all others. The federal Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms of 1982, and the Ontario Human Rights Code of 1981, protects all citizens from discrimination based upon creed. Clearly the public support of one religion, and not others, violates both of these acts.

The public school system is based upon equality as it is a statutory requirement that the public school system serve all citizens equally. Every child has to be educated by the public system; however, this does not apply equally to the separate

school system which can select whom they wish to educate on their own terms, and reject those whom they do not find convenient to educate. This selectivity by the separate schools demonstrates the inequality inherent in the system. If public funds are to be provided for separate secondary schools, then the public has the right to demand that such selectivity must end and that the separate school system will have to educate everyone who wishes to attend that system and to hire staff on a non-discriminating basis.

In his speech of the 12th of June 1984, W. G. Davis stated that " we have a contemporary responsibility to be sure our answer on this question strengthens rather than fragments the social fabric of this province. " How the extension of public funding to Roman Catholic separate secondary schools in today's increasingly pluralistic and secular society could strengthen, rather than weaken, the social fabric, the former Premier was unable to say. He could not address this responsibility because the answer is clearly that religious division fragments and weakens the social cohesion of all citizens in the province. The cost today of unifying our multicultural, multiracial and multireligious society is a single non-sectarian public educational system - open to all and serving the needs of all regardless of class, race, creed or gender.

Cost

At this time, the provincial government is attempting to reduce its rapidly increasing deficit and to maintain its triple " A " credit rating with the New York bond market. The accounting for capital and recurrent costs of the introduction of public funding to separate secondary schools has been remarkably vague. Even more vague has been the government's method of raising the necessary finances for the extension of funding. As there are now enormous pressures to dramatically reduce the provincial deficit, and in view of the provincial cutbacks in education from 60% to 48.7% since 1975, the proposal to extend funding can hardly have come at a less opportune time. To incur enormous new costs at such a time, purely to duplicate and not improve the educational system is surely financially irresponsible.

If the deficit is to be significantly reduced, then the government must take the funds from other social programs unless there are to be massive tax increases. Most likely the funds will be found in a large shift of money out of the public school system. It is expected as well that less money would be provided for Special Education, that there would be a further decline in the proportion of funds provided to the public system and further reductions in funds for other social services, including health, welfare and care for the elderly.

To produce a wasteful, duplicate, and unnecessary system of secondary education in this province, in terms of its cost alone, is highly irresponsible and will be seen so by the electorate.

PRESERVE PUBLIC EDUCATION

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(Found in 1985)

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

GROUP OF NEW DEMOCRATS OPPOSE THE EXTENSION OF FUNDING OF SEPARATE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The New Democrats to Preserve Public Education, a group of New Democrats who oppose the extension of public funds to the separate secondary school system in Ontario, presented a brief to the Social Development Committe of the legislature today, in support of their position.

NDPPE is made up of riding association presidents, executive members, former candidates, school trustees and other New Democrats who came together as a result of the recent provincial election around the issue of the extension of public funding for separate secondary schools. Former NDP provincial cnadidates Diane Meaghan and Gord Doctorow co-chair the group.

Presenting the NDPPE's brief at the committee hearing were Diane Meaghan, Gord Doctorow, York West NDP riding's candidate Philip Jones, and York Mills NDP's past president, Esther Bissoon.

Their main objective is to defend and preserve a single, publicly-funded school system which is open to all, equally, regardless of social class, race, gender or creed. They consider such a system to be essential to build and maintain a society in which people live together in harmony and enjoy equal opportunity to share in its prosperity. They oppose the government's proposal to extend public funding to the Roman Catholic secondary schools on the grounds that this will fragment the Ontario school system and that it will weaken the public segment of that divided system.

NDPPE recommended that a public referendum on the question of support for the extension of public funding of the separate secondary schools be held in conjunction with the municipal election this fall, so that the people of Ontario can advise the government and political parties of their opinion. They also advised that the bill be withdrawn pending this referendum.

Contending that the British North America Act only requires public support for the elementary grades in the separate school system, they advocated the removal of all public funding from the separate secondary schools. Currently grades 9 and 10 in the separate secondary schools receive government funding on a level with the elementary grades.

In keeping with their position that there should be a separation between church and state and that the publicly-funded schools should not provide a favored position for any religious group, they advocated the complete secularization of public schools. This would involve changes in the regularions which currently oblige religious practices such as prayers and bible readings in the public schools.

In another recommendation, NDPPE proposed the establishment of a Royal Commission to study the philosophy and administration of secondary education in the province to establish a plan of action for the next 20 years.

The group has affiliated with the Coalition for Public Education, an alliance of groups working in support of the public education system. In addition, NDPPE members have worked and continue to work within the NDP in support of the public education system and in opposition to the establishment of further funding to religious and/or private schools.

July 30, ~~1095~~ (1985)

For more information, contact:
Diane Meaghan (416) 477-2321

Gord Doctorow (416) 493-6829

1. It is time to FIGHT, FIGHT, FIGHT,
FOR
What is RIGHT, RIGHT, RIGHT!!!

2. A place to stand---
A place to grow---
MAKE THE PUBLIC SYSTEM GO!!!

3. MILLER, PETERSON AND RAE,
Don't make the Public System PAY!

4. 2 4 6 8 ---
SEPARATE the CHURCH and STATE!

5. 2 4 6 8 ---
SCHOOLS SHOULD NOT DISCRIMINATE

6. We believe in DEDICATION
TO
OUR PUBLIC EDUCATION!

7. 1 2 3 4 ---
CLOSE THE SEPARATE FUNDING DOOR

8. WE believe in PRESERVATION
OF
OUR PUBLIC EDUCATION!

9. WHERE'S the CHOICE?
NO VOICE!!

10. MILLER, PETERSON, and RAE,
THINK
BEFORE THE STUDENTS PAY!!

11. TOLERANCE and UNDERSTANDING
THAT IS ALL THAT WE'RE
DEMANDING!!

12. TOLERATE
DON'T
DISCRIMINATE!

NO MORE HIROSHIMAS

NO MORE CHERNOBYLS

END 41 YEARS OF NUCLEAR TERROR

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BIOGRAPHY - GORD DOCTOROW

The Issues:

I'm contesting the NDP nomination in York Mills because I feel compelled to speak out on two critical issues: the survival of the planet and the survival of public education in Ontario. As the federal Tories hasten to lock us more firmly into the U.S. Star Wars network with unquestioning, militarist enthusiasm for sacrificing Canadian independence and the security of the planet, their provincial counterparts nod approvingly. The NDP challenge to make Ont. a nuclear weapons free zone was rebuffed by a Tory-Liberal majority in the Legislature in 1983. Urgency dictates that we must once again rise to the challenge as the antiwar party and make this a provincial issue.

In the wake of the Tories' decision to extend public funding to Catholic high schools, communities are split over the division of schools, and ancient bigotries are flaring up. The Ont. Sec. School Teachers Fed., on behalf of thousands of teachers who will be affected, has called for guarantees to protect the jobs and rights of teachers displaced by the loss of students to the religious school system. OSSTF is calling for establishing unified school boards as a rational method of integrating planning and financing for all publicly funded schools. What remains in great doubt is whether the public school system with its declining enrolment and funding support can survive. Already powerful lobbies for private schools and other religious denominations are demanding funds. Surely, this fragmentation will only divide further the new generations who should be growing together on the basis of social solidarity.

I also intend to promote party policy calling for: a halt to cutbacks in health and social services, full measures to advance

women's and minority rights, full employment, provision of plentiful and inexpensive good housing.

Political Experience:

PRESENT

- executive member and alternate provincial councillor, Oriole NDP
- NDP Antiwar Committee: Steering Cttee member, co-editor of Newsletter, organizer of NDP contingents at disarmament rallies
- active in NDP Left Caucus
- authored major analysis in the PHOENIX (journal of North York OSSTF) and Canadian Jewish Outlook, criticizing the Tory government's decision to extend public funding to Separate Schools
- panelist at Prov. Council debate in defence of NDP anti-NATO stance

PAST

- joined NDP in 1965 - Univ. of Tor. club and St. Paul's NDP riding
- delegate to numerous NDP federal, provincial, municipal conventions
- numerous fed., prov. and munic. campaigns: canvasser, fund-raiser, writing lit., planning cttee, phone campaigns, candidate recruiter
- riding exec. posts: treas., sec., Metro NDP del., vice-pres., pres.
- co-organizer of North York conference on municipal politics
- founding chairperson of the NDP Antiwar Committee
- author of NDP Antiwar Cttee Policy statement and speaker at, and organizer of, several antiwar conferences
- member of the Ontario Waffle (1969-1972)
- contributor to the New Democrat on disarmament themes
- delegate to 4 OSSTF Annual Assemblies and PAC rep. in Scar. OSSTF
- authored OSSTF reply to the Scar. Bd of Ed's 1978 Five Year Plan

Personal and Work Background:

-math and computer sci. teacher (Scarborough), B.Sc., B. Ed., M. Math.

-age 39; married to Roslyn (elementary teacher in North York); 2 children, Cory (13) & Neil (8), who attend N. York public school

-panelist on TVO's Computer Academy; author and workshop speaker on computerss in curriculum; co-authored Scar. Bd of Ed's grade 11 Comp. Sci. curr. guide; co-author high school comp. sci. textbook

Left Caucus newsletter

Published by the Steering Committee
of the
ONDP Left Caucus
Station G., Box 92
1075 Queen St. E.
Toronto M4M 1H0

August, 1985
Vol. 1, No. 1

THREE MAJOR VICTORIES BY LEFT AT NDP CONVENTION

It went largely unreported by the media, but the party's left wing won three major victories at the federal convention in Ottawa on the July 1 weekend.

-- The NDP's out-of-NATO policy was overwhelmingly reaffirmed when it was forced onto the floor on the second day of the convention.

-- The Federal Council's key economic policy document was rejected for its failure to include any mention of the public sector. It was subsequently amended and passed in accordance with a Left Caucus referral motion.

-- A leadership-backed technological change resolution was rejected for its failure to mention the reduced work week as a central means of preventing layoffs. It was also amended in accordance with a Left Caucus referral motion.

It was, in the opinion of one sympathetic MP, the Left Caucus' best showing since its formation at the 1979 convention, and it buoyed the spirits of the several dozen delegates who regularly attended its meetings. About 130 delegates were present for the Caucus' major planning meeting on the first day of the convention.

The left victories could be attributed to several factors:

1. The leadership's subtle efforts to shift policy to the right, reflected in its thinly-veiled campaign against the NATO policy, and the conspicuous absence of traditional planks like social ownership and the reduced work week from key domestic policy resolutions.

2. The greater ability of the Left Caucus to identify and respond to this rightward drift in a united way. In recent conventions, the Caucus appeared to lack the will and confidence to fight major questions on the floor

3. The presence of many new delegates, particularly from Quebec, who joined the party in the wake of its "ordinary people" campaign last year. They joined the party because they were told it is fundamentally different than the old-line parties, and they expect these differences to be clearly reflected in policy.

4. The greater independence of the labour bloc. The confidence of labour delegates, by and large, still resides with the leadership and they continue to view the left with skepticism. But the leadership's drift to the right has led labour to oppose it on matters like NATO, the reduced work week, and free trade.

In another development of interest to left supporters, Simon Rosenblum was defeated in his bid to retain his Federal Council seat. He was knocked off the official slate in a move led by Northern Ontario delegates.

ANTI-NATO POLICY REAFFIRMED

The party's anti-NATO position was reaffirmed by 85% of the delegates when it was debated on the second evening of the convention.

Burnaby MP Svend Robinson later told a Left Caucus meeting that he would introduce a private member's bill in the House calling on Canada to withdraw from NATO and NORAD.

The issue was not supposed to come to the floor. None of the 30 resolutions on NATO was given any priority by the resolutions committee. Virtually all were anti-NATO.

The issue was only brought forward when angry delegates from ridings in the West and the Maritimes insisted it be debated. They had come a long way, they said, and it was mostly to reaffirm the anti-NATO policy.

Party leaders had publicly made known their disatisfaction with the current policy, and were seeking to change it at this convention. But these plans were abandoned in the face of a

VOTE NDP ELECT

GORD DOCTOROW

YORK MILLS

THE NEW DEMOCRATS

Authorized by York Mills NDP

THE ISSUE THAT WON'T GO AWAY!

Education & Public Funding of Separate High Schools

WHAT THEY ARE SAYING . . .

"In my opinion, the proposal of Premier Davis, whichever form it takes, would constitute discrimination based on religion in favour of the Roman Catholic school supporters as opposed to all other persons who are taxpayers."

Statement by constitutional expert, J.J. Robinette, Q.C., to the Metro Toronto school board, challenging the constitutional legality of the provincial government's decision to extend public funding to Roman Catholic high schools. The Metro Board urges that no actions be taken pending the ruling of the courts.

In an open letter to the provincial government the executive of the 25,000 member Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations demanded a minimum two year freeze on full funding for Catholic schools. **Toronto Star 4/16/85**

"Extended funding to separate schools could seriously jeopardize our public school system as well as open the doors to public funding of private and other religious schools."

—Michael Lyons, president of the Metro Toronto Labour Council

Most Rev. Lewis Garnsworthy, Anglican Archbishop of Toronto, has publicly criticized the change in policy, polarizing the issue along religious lines. Everyone, regardless of faith or background, will be required to pay taxes for the support of one religious group, he said. But as an Anglican, he added, he does not agree with Roman Catholic teaching on birth control, abortion, "nor that the Roman Catholic Church is the sole arbiter of religious or moral truth." Right Rev. Clarke MacDonald, moderator of the United Church of Canada, publicly endorsed Bishop Garnsworthy's view. He said he was concerned that the change might foster the emergence of a state church and might further fracture the province's religious community.—**Globe and Mail**, 7/12/84

PRESERVE PUBLIC EDUCATION • NO PUBLIC FUNDS FOR PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Our educational system is designed to prepare the coming generation to face the future. This can best be done through a publicly financed and controlled educational system which is free of sectarian influences and which does not cater to any special interest group. Indeed, public schools foster the tolerance essential to the maintenance of a democratic society. Yet the continued survival of the public education system is at risk.

PUBLIC SCHOOL CUTBACKS

North York residents now shoulder 91 percent of the cost of education through their property taxes. In 1975, the provincial government funded 35 percent of the overall cost of public elementary and high school education. Today, it is a mere nine percent.

Next year's North York Board of Education budget is targeted at a modest three percent increase over the current year. Still neighbourhood schools are closing; class sizes remain too large; programs are being abandoned; teachers are being fired. While the quality of education declines, property taxes will rise by 8.4 percent.

The pattern is clear. According to the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, from 1975 to 1984, the Conservative government actually decreased its share of public education costs in Metro Toronto by $111 million expressed in 1984 constant dollars. In the same period, residents increased their contribution by over $180 million (in 1984 constant dollars).

This occurs at a time when public schools are compelled to provide additional programs.

As the demands for new services rise, the rate of provincial funding declines.

POST-SECONDARY CUTBACKS

Universal access to post-secondary education is being written off the provincial agenda. At the college and university levels, conditions have deteriorated. Classes are crowded; equipment is obsolete; library resources are insufficient—all as a result of provincial cutbacks during Bette Stephenson's tenure as Education Minister.

Qualified young people are being turned away because the universities and colleges have been forced to restrict student enrollment. Those who enrol pay higher fees and frequently complete their education with debts of over $10,000 and with no job in sight.

According to a 1981 Council of Ontario University study, the university system was "on the brink" of collapse. And how did the Education Minister respond? She set up the Bovey Commission to "restructure the system." Ironically, the Commission recommended, on the advice of large corporations, that access to these institutions become even more limited and that tuition fees be increased by over 50 percent in four years. Bear in mind that the provincial government share of the operating grants to universities plummeted from 32 percent to six percent between 1976 and 1984.

THE NDP ALTERNATIVE

- ☐ Restore provincial grants to public elementary and secondary schools to 60 percent funding
- ☐ Provide 100 percent provincial funding for mandatory special education programs
- ☐ Restore grant support for full-day kindergarten programs
- ☐ Shift education property tax to progressive income tax
- ☐ Reduce class size to improve programs and maintain teacher jobs
- ☐ Adopt affirmative hiring practices for women and ethnic minorities
- ☐ Increase post-secondary funding to the national average (Ontario now stands last in Canada)
- ☐ Freeze post-secondary tuition fees
- ☐ Increase access to post-secondary education for women, low-income families, Native Canadians, members of immigrant groups to better reflect their proportion in the population.

SEPARATE SCHOOLS AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

Until the mid-1960s, Catholic separate schools were funded only up to Grade 8, as required by the British North America Act of 1867. In the 1960s, funding was extended to Grades 9 and 10. Without public input or parliamentary debate, former Premier William Davis arbitrarily decided to fully fund these religious schools up to and including Grade 13.

Never mind that this constitutes discrimination on the basis of religion. **Never mind** that this violates the democratic principles of separation of Church from State. **Never mind** that this means a further loss of students to an already declining and underfunded public school system. Or that public school teachers' and other education workers' jobs and rights are threatened. Or that communities would be divided because of resentment over special privileges accorded to one religious group.

But I do mind, and I believe that you do too. And wish to demonstrate that by voting Doctorow in York Mills.

HALT EXTENSION OF PUBLIC FUNDING TO ROMAN CATHOLIC HIGH SCHOOLS

Attention

As a voter in the electoral riding of York Mills, I would like to express my views on the following two questions.

1. With regard to the extension of provincial government funding of Roman Catholic separate schools to grades 11, 12 and 13.

   I am in favour ☐ I am opposed ☐

2. With regards to the provincial government assuming the responsibility of funding private and independent schools.

   I am in favour ☐ I am opposed ☐

Comments: _____

_____

_____

_____

If you would like more information, please complete the following.

Name _____

Address _____

Phone No. _____

I believe in quality public education. As a member of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation, I advocate its policy of opposition to the extension of public funds to private religious education and for unified school boards for all publicly funded schools. I support the Metro Toronto Board of Education's court challenge to the extension of funding of Catholic schools on the basis that it is in violation of the Canadian Charter of Rights.

Attached to this leaflet is a postage-paid, return-addressed tear-off card. Responses to the question of public funding for Roman Catholic and private schools will be tabulated and published.

● ● ●

Gord and his wife Roslyn have been living in York Mills for five years with their two boys, Neil (8) and Cory (13). Gord teaches mathematics and computer science at Porter Collegiate in Scarborough. Roslyn is an elementary school teacher in the North York Board. Their children attend public school in North York and are involved in hockey and soccer in the neighbourhood area.

● ● ●

The following people have personally endorsed Gord's campaign. Organizations listed are for identification purposes only.

LIZ BARKLEY—President OSSTF District 13 (North York)
ANGELA BROWNING—Chairperson Against Cruise Testing
MALCOLM BUCHANAN—President Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation
JOANNE KATES—Globe & Mail columnist
WALLY MAJESKY—Secretary-Treasurer Ontario Federation of Labour
LYNN McDONALD—NDP MP Broadview-Greenwood, past President National Action Committee on the Status of Women
JUDY REBICK—Spokesperson Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics
MILDRED SMITH—President ONDP Women's Committee
SUSIE VALLANCE—Chief Steward Local 561 OPSEU (Seneca College Support Staff), Vice-President Ontario Federation of Labour

GORD DOCTOROW IS THE OFFICIAL NDP CANDIDATE OF YORK MILLS AND IS OFFICIALLY ENDORSED BY OSSTF.

Campaign Office: Bayview Woods Plaza, 648 Finch Ave. East, Willowdale, Ont. M2K 2E6 • Tel: (416) 229-4486

Sept 26, 1985

RC Funding

ELECTION SURVEY ON EDUCATION FUNDING

What did the recent provincial election reveal about the public's attitude on the issue of extended state funding of Roman Catholic separate schools?

It was only in the metropolitan Toronto riding of York Mills that a popular referendum was conducted on this issue. That was undertaken by the campaign committee for Gord Doctorow, the NDP candidate, who was pitted against the former PC education minister, Dr. Bette Stephenson.

The York Mills NDP election committee published a special brochure highlighting the York Mills memberships' opposition to extension of public funding of Roman Catholic schools to grades 11, 12, and 13. It also expressed the Ontario party's opposition to public funding of private and independent schools as well as its general anti-cutbacks views on education.

The education campaign brochure contained a return-addressed, self-stamped detachable panel that voters were asked to use to express their views on two questions related to education funding by the provincial government. The first asked whether they opposed or favoured government funding extended to Roman Catholic high schools and the second asked the same question in relation to private and independent schools. Space was allocated for additional comments. The leaflet was delivered by mail to some 30,000 households in the riding.

The returned cards represent the views of 587 resident-voters in York Mills. Seven of the responses had written comments but no markings on the ballot portion. The following table summarizes the results.

FUNDING OPINIONS IN YORK MILLS

Separate Schools	YES	NO	YES	NO	YES	NO	?
Private Schools	YES	NO	NO	YES	?	?	YES
	57	473	23	18	6	1	2

Number of ballots spoiled = 7

Total number of ballots = 587

Opposed to full funding of separate schools 85%

Opposed to funding of private schools 86%

The shift away from the Progressive Conservatives who had held office for 42 years was a province-wide phenomenon. Why the Liberals, who only months ago on the federal arena had suffered a catastrophe at the hands of the Conservatives, were the only substantial gainers in this very volatile Ontario situation, and not our party which was able to carry a highly visible campaign, must be the subject of intense examination by our members.

York Mills, according to 1981 Stats Canada, is largely a highly skilled working class and middle class population, with a scattering of Canada's corporate elite. Average household income stood at $41, 895 as against the Ontario average of $25,577. Some 20,035 dwellings were owner-occupied, 10,030 rented. Approximately 55 percent of the population held a university or other post-secondary education and 42 percent were Protestant, 21.4 percent Jewish, 20 percent Catholic.

The raw figures of the NDP York Mills mail-in ballot on public funding of Roman Catholic high schools and private schools give only a hint as to the interest, the concern, the wide areas of agreement and, on the other hand, the widely disparate views held by those persons in the riding who responded.

Since each ballot was open to any and all comment, as to be expected, there was one marked "Get off to Russia, USSR" with a swastika scrawled on it. Another took pleasure at costing us for return delivery with the comment "Another 32 cents down the drain". But these were notable only as exceptions. Nearly all the rest carried serious and thoughtful opinions on the issues involved. Ex-Premier Davis's arrogant decree to publicly fund separate schools and the agreement of the two parliamentary opposition caucuses without public debate were vigorously and roundly condemned on ballot after ballot. Bishop Garnsworthy's words of condemnation were as nothing compared to the wording on some ballots.

The ban on all debate has been justified in the name of not fanning flames of religious bigotry. But the fostering of bigotry is the term frequently appearing on ballots to describe the process that would separate Catholic students along religious lines from their peers. The poll, quite contrary to official fears, is free of expressions of arguments that could be called narrow-minded, prejudiced or bigoted.

As one balloter put it: "The public school system is for every child of every race and religion -- need more be said."

It could appear, according to a block of forwarded ballots, that there is confusion in York Mills as to what the NDP position is on the extension of public funding to Roman Catholic high schools past grade 10. And it is not so much that people don't know that the official position -- that voiced by Bob Rae and the parliamentary caucus -- is support of extending public funding. We would gather that the official position is seen in part of the public as to be so completely opposite to what they would expect it to be that they see York Mills NDP's opposition to public funding as the real NDP position and want to identify with it. Along with many expressions of solidarity and congratulations there are such greetings as: "We are in agreement with the NDP on this point -- totally". Another: "I am voting for the NDP for the first time in my life -- solely on this issue. Your stance is to be commended. Good luck. (Is Bob Rae with you on this?)". Another: "I dislike unions and have never considered voting NDP; but PC's equal PCB's and the Liberal candidate is a looney. I'll have to vote for you." Another: "Until now I didn't know for sure who I would vote for or if I would vote at all. Congratulations on being the only one brave enough to speak on this issue. Now my vote will be for Gordon Doctorow -- signed Anglican." Another: "It is a pity your whole party couldn't follow this line too." And another: "I applaud your stand with respect to the above, but find it reprehensible that Bob Rae has not seen fit to make it Party policy. In my view he has lost a chance for a good deal of support and missed what might have been a crucial election issue."

As one ballot was marked: "Questionnaire is an excellent idea." And we have only scratched the surface. Shouldn't we demand that the government hold a provincial referendum before going ahead with the legislation?

September 26, 1985

Ontario: The Fight Against Separate Schools

Socialists have always opposed public aid to parochial schools. GORD DOCTOROW a Toronto school teacher, tells why he believes this opposition remains valid in 1985.

The political scene in Ontario is laden with surprises and bizarre twists. A minority Liberal government, thanks to a tactical agreement with the NDP, has replaced 42 years of unbroken Tory rule. This agreement is based upon an accord co-signed by Premier David Peterson and NDP leader Bob Rae, which commits the NDP to two years of support for the Liberal government in exchange for a legislative reform agenda. At the top of this agenda is the extension of state funding to Roman Catholic separate schools beyond its previous level of Grade 10 up to Grade 13.

The Liberals have tabled Bill 30, which outlines their plan for extending separate school funding, with the support of the PC and NDP caucuses. Public hearings on the legislation have been held by a standing committee of the Legislature throughout the summer heading into November. A steady flow of briefs has been presented by all kinds of groups varying from teacher and education institutions to individuals. However, the government has not allowed the slow pace and majority public opposition to hinder it from implementing the first stage of funding, even without enabling legislation, by means of cabinet decree, an order-in-council.

The game plan seems to be to create *faits accomplis*. The government has only just begun to argue before the Supreme Court of Canada that Bill 30 is constitutionally valid. Among the 38 groups intervening are opponents of the bill like the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, the Coalition for Public Education (combining various non-Catholic religious groups, trustee groups, teacher groups, feminists, and other interested parties), and the Metro Toronto public school board. The latter is represented by J.J. Robinette, one of Canada's most eminent constitutional lawyers, who is arguing that the legislation constitutes discrimination in favor of one religion against all others, contrary to the terms of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

Dissent has grown inside the NDP as well. A group calling itself New Democrats to Preserve Public Education (NDPPE) presented a brief to the Legislature committee arguing opposition to extension of funding on the basis of democratic and socialist principles.

The NDPPE argued for "the democratic principle of separation of Church and State." It pointed out that the deal at Confederation has little to do with today's society. In fact, the 1981 StatsCanada census reveals 34 different religious groups, the fourth largest of which, some 620,000, was characterized as having no religious preference. Hence, extending education privileges to the Roman Catholic religion constitutes an affront to an increasingly pluralistic and secular society.

Sectarian education is in sharp confrontation workers' struggles. When Catholic teachers went out on strike in Toronto and Sudbury, parish priests used their pulpits to organize strikebreaking — even when the issue was reducing class sizes to improve the quality of education.

Socialist seek to base their struggle for a new society on the foundation of class solidarity. Dividing youth in their formative years on the basis of religion directly undermines this concept. Consider the outrageous example of an eight-year-old Jewish girl attending a Windsor-area separate school who was told that Jews killed Christ.

The teachings of Catholic doctrine are in sharp ideological conflict with socialism. Reproductive choice is taught as a great sin. Catholic schools have been used to organize and bus students to demonstrate against the Morgentaler abortion clinic in Toronto. Women are told that their biology prevents them from aspiring to such important roles as priests, bishops, or the pope. Affirmative action for women must contend with religious dogma in the separate school system.

Separate school boards are opposed to hiring of non-Catholics as caretakers or secretaries in the schools. Catholic trustees, in their submissions to the Legislature committee on separate school funding, have indicated they will restrict the promotional opportunities of non-Catholic teachers. Teachers who exhibit a lifestyle contrary to Catholic doctrine (like common law arrangements, gays, pro-choice activists) are told to forget about being transferred to separate schools. In short, the antique institutions of separate schools constitutes the one area where human rights legislation is suspended.

The antique institution of separate schools constitutes the one area where human rights legislation is suspended.

For copies of the NDPPE brief, write to 163 Carlton Rd., Unionville, Ont. L3R 3L7.

From our victory against Canadian commitment to Star Wars, forward!

UC

The New Democratic Party greets the nuclear disarmament movement on this International Day of Protest. Forty years have elapsed since the bombing of Hiroshima ushered in the nuclear age on August 6, 1945. The struggle to convince the world leaders that their nuclear arms drive is taking us to the brink of the destruction of all humanity goes on. It seems hardly believable, with all the resources and ingenuity available to alleviate the suffering and want plaguing the world, that we are still looking for bigger and better ways that can only result in our self-destruction.

The awesome peril of what we are protesting hardly leaves room for celebration, even when we do score a partial victory. Nevertheless we can take heart from the fact that there are growing chinks in the armour of those who see war as the final solution. Reagan's Star War plans are causing many of his allies to think again about their subservience to the U.S. war machine. Even the chairman of Reagan's fan club, Brian Mulroney, has been forced to back off from giving the full support of his government. The Canadian peace movement is having considerable effect on the consciousness of the population. It is obvious that Mulroney's adivsors are increasingly aware that Canadians are being alerted to opposition by Star Wars and other involvements in the rush to planetary destruction.

The growing crisis in the NATO alliance has now been stimulated by the Soviet government's proposal for a 50% reduction in U.S. and Soviet missiles and warheads. It seems probable that Holland will pull out of the Cruise missile club under the pressure from the peace forces in that country.

The NATO military alliance is becoming unsprung and it is more than ever necessary for the disarmament movement in Europe and America to step up its fight against it. The delegates to this summer's New Democratic national convention reaffirmed their determination to see a government in Ottawa that will pull Canada out of the NATO-NORAD military alliance.

The courageous stand taken by New Zealand points the direction that should be taken by Canada. The move to make that country a nuclear weapons free zone started with local organizing efforts, but could only be realized with the election of the Labour Party, fully backed by the disarmament movement.

Canada has a unique role to play in bringing about world peace. The U.S. military and industrial complex sees Ottawa as its closest ally. Hostilities between the two nuclear giants gravely imperils us. Now a member of NATO, our withdrawal by declaring ourselves a nuclear weapons free zone, would deliver a powerful blow for peace.

Canada's labour party, the NDP, sees the aims and ideals of the peace movement as an intrinsic part of its struggle to establish a socialist democracy in Canada. We have lived with the nuclear threat for four decades. Let's work to make the next decade one that will mark decisive strides towards the establishment of a world of peace and plenty.

THE NEW DEMOCRATS

Oct 26/85

Published by the Ontario NDP Anti-war Committee.

For further information contact us at 184 Main Street, Toronto, Ontario, M4E 2W1 or phone 536-8171.

ONDP LEFT CAUCUS NEWSLETTER 1985

Issue #2

NDP UPDATE

A Publication of the ONDP LEFT

We hope to make this column a regular feature of all Left Caucus Newsletters in order to keep party activists up to date on what is going in the party. Your contributions and suggestions for worthwhile material will be greatly appreciated.

* * *

The recent coverage of the last NDP Federal Convention in local NDP newspapers was an interesting exercise in how the party leadership communicates with its members. In Ontario, the ONTARIO DEMOCRAT (they aren't even willing to be New anymore) didn't even mention the federal convention let alone cover the political debates at all. This publication has been steadily declining over the last year and definitely needs both new blood and some real political discussion to enliven its moribund pages.

In B.C., where the party seems to pay at least some lip service to the idea of keeping its members informed on party discussions and issues its coverage was a fascinating exercise in news management. No mention whatsoever was given to the economic debate at the convention in spite of the fact that it was the keynote resolution to be dealt with and that the final referral that won (which the Left Caucus put forward) was made by Hilda thomas a prominent B.C. New Democrat. - The NATO resolution, also fought for hard by B.C. activists was given a minor paragraph announcing it had been reaffirmed and ignoring the overwhelming vote in favour of re-affirming it as well as the lively debate that accompanied it.

No discussion was given to the Abortion debate in the Women's Caucus nor to the petition circulated and almost universally signed by NDP members expressing their dissatisfaction with the Pauley government's lack of progress on this key issue. (NDP Update has been told that future issue of the BC New Democrat will deal with this so we will wait and see.)

How has your local publication dealt with the convention or other intra-party issues. Let us know at NDP UPDATE when you get a chance.

* * *

The Seperate School Funding issue remains one of the major issues both within the province of Ontario and within the ONDP. Recently an organization called New Democrats to Preserve Public Education was formed to help organize New Democrats who oppose our provincial party's support for the current Liberal and previous Conservative government's intent to extend full public financing of the Seperate (Catholic) School Board in Ontario to senior high school grades.

The ONDP Left Caucus has seen this local issue become a watershed issue for many party activists who oppose it. The issue goes much deeper than a simple extension of funding and deals squarely with the issues of what the responsibilities of secular socialist party should be when dealing with educational issues. At a time when cutbacks in public education have been the norm in the Province of Ontario massive funding is suddenly going to be shifted away from the secular public school system into the Catholic Seperate School system. Can voucher education be far behind?

These are among the questions and issues that will be discussed at an upcoming ONDP Left Caucus forum on the Seperate School Funding Issue at Bloor Collegiate High school Auditorium on Nov. 22nd at 7:30 pm. Speakers include OSSTF Past President Malcolm Buchanan and former NDP Provincial Candidate Diane Meeghan who ran on a platform opposed to the extension of Seperate School Funding.

FUNDRAISING UPDATE

We would like to thank those Left Caucus members who responded generously to our fundraising appeal in our first newsletter. Currently we have raised enough money to retire our previous debt and provide us with enough funds to produce 2-3 issues of the Left Caucus Newsletter. This amounts to over $400 so far from more than 50 supporters.

We would also like to thank those of you who took the time to fill in the member information card and return it to us. We received over 70 and some respondants mentioned that they were unemployed and.or unable to provide us with a contribution at this time, but would like to continue to receive the Newsletter and other Left Caucus mailings. We will be happy to continue to send the mailings to these members and will endeavour to continue sending mailings to others on our mailing list as well.

(found in 1985)

ONDP Left Caucus

Conference:

Saturday, November 23rd

9:00 a.m. - 5:00 p.m.

155 College St. (Toronto Board of Education)

"Political Action + Organizing for the Next Year"

A.M.: Politics: - The Economy - Shorter Work Week
- Free Trade
- Social Ownership
- Separate School Funding
- Harrassment of Morgentaler
- Nicaragua
- Internal Party Democracy + Debate

P.M.: Organizing: - A new steering committee
- Organizing for the 1986 Convention

"An Alternative Slate for the Executive"

For further information:

(and to put yourself on Left Caucus mailing list)

Write: ONDP Left Caucus, Stn. G., Box 92
or phone 1075 Queen St. E. Toronto, Ont. M4M 1H0
David Tomczak (416) 536-6561

ONDP Left Caucus Discusses:

Public Funding of Roman Catholic High Schools

Friday, November 22nd

7:30 p.m.

Bloor Collegiate (1141 Bloor St. W., at the Dufferin subway)

Speakers:

Diane Meaghan: (1985 NDP Candidate - York Centre) — Feminism & the Catholic Schools Issue

Malcolm Buchanan: (Past President - O.S.S.T.F.) — The Struggle to Preserve Public Education

Gord Doctorow: (1985 NDP Candidate - York Mills) — A Socialist Perspective on Public Education

Dear New Democrat,

The resolution on the reverse side is brought to your attention by the New Democrats to Preserve Public Education. This resolution, if passed, will replace and supercede current policy which is numbered 9.2.2 in the policy book and which is titled "A Statement on the Financing of Catholic High Schools". We urge you to take the resolution to your riding for discussion and passing on to the convention.

The deadline for resolutions is April 4. The provincial office should receive the resolution along with an accompanying Resolution Submission Form containing the number and title of the resolution it is to replace by that date. At this late date, submissions by registered mail should be considered.

In Solidarity,

New Democrats to Preserve
Public Education

DRAFT MOTION FOR 1986 ONDP CONVENTION

Proposed by

NEW DEMOCRATS TO PRESERVE PUBLIC EDUCATION (NDPPE)

WHEREAS:

1. the New Democratic Party has traditionally opposed special privilege based on wealth or social status, on race or ethnic origin, on sex or sexual orientation, or on religion; and

2. the current ONDP policy supports the funding of Roman Catholic separate secondary schools but not of other religious schools, which notably confers a special privilege; and

3. only a broadly based public educational system can bring together children of all ethnic, religious and social groups in a community to prepare them for life in the pluralistic world in which they will live and work; and

4. such a system should teach children to understand and respect a variety of religious perspectives and cultural traditions, and should not endorse or attempt to inculcate any particular doctrine; and

5. the further fragmentation of education through duplication of facilities and dilution of resources is fiscally unsound and educationally irresponsible; and

6. the Supreme Court of Canada has yet to determine whether proposed legislation to extend public funding to Roman Catholic separate secondary schools violates the non-discrimination provisions of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms; and until that determination is made, such legislation (or anticipatory executive action) is at best premature;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED:

1. That the ONDP declare its support for a strong non-sectarian public educational system.

2. That the ONDP oppose any extension of public funding to Roman Catholic separate secondary schools or to private schools.

"This decision is a mockery of justice," he told The Globe and Mail. "It stinks to high hell. It says it is okay to break the law and you are immune so long as someone above you said to do it... Mr. Dowson and I have lost our faith in the justice system. We're wondering what is the point of appealing and continuing this charade of the courts in this country which are warped in favor of protecting the police. The courts and the RCMP are sticking so close together you'd think they were put together with Krazy Glue."

FROM A STATEMENT BY HARRY KOPYTO UPON HEARING OF A PROVINCIAL COURT DISMISSAL OF A DAMAGE SUIT LAUNCHED AGAINST THE R.C.M.P. ON BEHALF OF TORONTO SOCIALIST ROSS DOWSON - GLOBE & MAIL, DEC. 18, 1985.

FOR THESE WORDS, KOPYTO HAS BEEN DECLARED GUILTY OF CONTEMPT OF COURT. FUNDS FOR HIS DEFENCE ARE PAYABLE TO: ILER, CAMPBELL & ASSOCIATES, 136 SIMCOE ST., SUITE 201, TORONTO, ONT. M5H 3G4

The following article is from the summary address before Judge M. Zuker of the Ontario Provincial Court by Toronto lawyer Harry Kopyto on behalf of Ross Dowson and the Socialist Rights Defence Fund on October 9 1985. Early in the course of the hearing Dowson testified that the two top RCMP officers Yaworski and Chisholm against whom Dowson had sworn charges back in April 1980. admitted to among others having committed criminal acts of forgery, uttering, and tramsmitting false messages for the purpose of disrupting the lawful activities of members of the League for Socialist Action. — LSO

As the facts about the massive assault on civil rights perpetrated by the RCMP madnadated by Ottawa with the knowledge and actual mandate of were exposed to public attention over a period 19691973 this became known as Case 13 of the infamous "thought control " Operation Checkmate directed against the radical left but ultimately against the mass movements of the Canadain working people, the trade union movement and its political arm the NDP . After having been blocked at every other level of the Canadian justice system the SRDF efforts to establish the legitimacy and legality of socialist thought in face of charges of "subversion"by the RCMP

(Found in 1985)

Forward

(from first interview with Ross Dowson)

- anti-Castro (for oppression of gays)
- anti-Castro (for coming out against Solidarity in Poland, + supporting invasion of Czechoslovakia)

- pro- supporting the N.D.P, entering it, working as part of the labour party, not running alongside it, isolating yourself the way the way the German Communist Party did by not supporting the Social Democratic Party against the Nazis

(building the Left Caucus)

→p. 2

→ from p. 1

- ran Gordon Doctorow against the party's position pro-Catholic education funding

- not isolated from the main labour force (as the C.P., M.-L.P. and R.W.L. are)

- Canada is an American dependency (part of the Imperialist Alliance) and not an imperialist power

- ran successfully against Broadbent's move to take away the N.D.P.'s policy to take Canada out of N.A.T.O.

On the founding of the Canadian auto workers union [CAW]

Article notes title -- by Web Ed.

Handwritten unpublished notes on the founding of the Canadian Autoworkers Union, by Ross Dowson found in 1985

Come September the some 125,000 Canadian autoworkers affiliated to the Canadian Labour Congress will gather at convention to launch the Canadian Autoworkers Union independent of the structures governing the US membership of the United Autoworkers. There is certain to be a continued relationship with the US autoworkers union headed by Beiber not only (by) reason of the fact that the Canadian CAW was born (with) the bulk of the membership of the new union (being in) conflict with the same powerful set of bosses – GM, Ford & Chrysler – who dominate auto production on the continent, all the more so because of the Auto Pact and the strong bonds of solidarity through which the giant auto monopoly divided up the lush North American market.

The dispute of the Canadian-based White leadership with the US-based Beiber autoworkers leadership appeared to burst out so unexpectedly, and to escalate so rapidly that it caught most, even some seasoned observers, by surprise. But in reality it has been a long-festering one and marks a decisive turning point in the lengthy struggle of the Canadian union movement as it has grown in numbers, experience & maturity to set up a structure & forge a leadership of its own under its own control.

In fact it is the culminating point in the struggle that then UAW director Dennis McDermott warned about as being irrepressible, as little as a year before the historic CLC convention in Vancouver in 1974. McDermott cautioned the international (US-based) leadership against dismissing "the fervent nationalistic attitudes that pervade this country... It is my current belief," he warned "that unless international unions in Canada can make some fairly drastic accommodations & adjustments to the needs of the current emotions in this country, then the role of the internationals is in serious jeopardy. Genuine internationalist unionism in Canada as a true partner is one thing," he said. "A US union with a branch plant mentality and Canada treated as an occasionally patronizing afterthought is something else," he said.

Then as now the question of mergers, the fractured character of the Canadian labor movement and mergers to be overcome was a burning one. Half the 87 US-based unions that in all represent about 70% of the CLC membership had fewer than 500 members – but there could be no mergers in Canada without US head office consent or unless prior mergers taking place in the US made them an automatic process in Canada.

It was the Canadian Steelworkers leadership, then as now, who struck out against demands for Canadian trade union autonomy at the same time as it, with the support of the CLC executive, struck out against the demand of Quebec unions for special status within the CLC. They equated Quebec nationalism to Canadian nationalism which they opposed equally, as did guest speaker Labor minister John Munro, representing the Trudeau government, who opined that "while ardent nationalism can in some areas be both wholesome and beneficial, this is not one of those areas."

When the CLC brass rejected Quebec autonomy demands the delegates to the 1974 CLC convention rose up in a tumultuous outburst to defeat it. **As the same convention reaffirmed what became known as guidelines of Canadian autonomy were,** although of the 87 affiliated internationals only 37 claimed to have not all three of them (below), and a decision (taken) expressing determination (they) be complied with: **1) election of Canadian officers by Canadians; 2) determination of officers dealing with Canadian policies by elected Canadian officers or members, 3) and authority to be vested in Canadian elected representatives to speak for the union in Canada.**

Now some ten years later, we have witnessed the decline in strength of the mass industrial union membership, the defection of ten construction trades unions and the assumption of the Carpenters, Labourers & Ironworkers of a dual membership in the AFL-CIO and in the Canadian Labour Congress, and the continued growth of the Canadian national unions with the vast influx of women members, so that they have become the majority of CLC membership.

It is this long ongoing struggle for autonomy by the Canadian membership of US-based unions that explains the united and relatively smooth and cool decision to split the Canadian autoworkers from the Detroit centre. Not one delegate in attendance at the April 1 meeting of the Canadian and the Quebec Canadian US UAW councils expressed any opposition to White's report-back of the UAW executive vote of 24 to one rejection of the Council's bid for Canadian autonomy.

Nine days earlier the 300-member Council had authorized White to ask the executive board for full and complete Canadian autonomy. According to *Toronto Star* (*labor editor)*

(– notes end) *See also:*

1) FORWARD, 1984, Nov.12-3: ''Canadian Autoworkers buck US leadership pattern")

2) Paperback: *Bob White: Hard Bargains; My life on the line,* 1988, McClelland & Stewart, Toronto, especially Chapters 20-21: A Separate Union, Strong, Independent and Penniless, pp. 365-410

February 6, 1986

Bob Rae MPP
Leader Ontario NDP
Room 222N
Legislative Assembly of Ontario
Queen's Park
Toronto, Ontario
M7A 1A2

Dear Bob,

We thank you for the copy of Richard Allen's written press response to the Shapiro Commission report. It is a clear statement of party policy and appears as a vigorous defence of public education. It is rather unfortunate, though, that this statement is exactly opposite to that quoted and attributed to Richard Allen in the public media. We called the NDP Education Critic to account, not on the basis of an impressionistic "trust in the fidelity of paraphrased comments", but rather on the solid evidence of his own spoken words.

Some of us heard a local CBC radio broadcast in which he stated his first public response to the Shapiro Commission report. Like perhaps thousands of other Ontarians, we heard him give high praise to the report. We heard him state that the NDP's policy of opposition to private school funding was an open question that had hardly been debated. He, unmistakably, was heard to favor the direction of the Shapiro Commission report.

As for Dave Warner, a careful reading of our letter will show that we did not "excoriate" him in our communication with you. Taking into account the possibility that the press report might be a distortion, we asked for clarification and a public statement from you, the party leader, in order that the public record be set straight.

We had not thought it necessary to speak to Messers Allen and Warner before putting our queries in written form to five leading New Democrats. After all, we have dealt only with matters of public record and were hoping to influence you to make a clear and firm public statement to undo the damage.

We have enjoined the party leader to set the record straight. We are not at all convinced that Richard Allen's press release -- in view of his previous radio interview -- fulfills this task. The written statement is not widely known by the public or party members. Only the party leader wields sufficient authority to clarify where the party stands. We fear that the leader's silence can only be interpreted as, at best, ambiguity.

Your letter does not at all address the substantive issues we have raised. A press release that promises action by the party is insufficent when the caucus has yet to advance legislative proposals and/or amendments in the Legislature.

Does the caucus intend to move amendments to the Liberal government's budget to advance the NDP's long-sought after educational finance reforms?

We earnestly await your reply.

Sincerely,

Gord Doctorow

Diane Meaghan

Gord Doctorow & Diane Meaghan
for NDPPE

cc: Richard Allen, MPP Hamilton West
Dave Warner, MPP Scarborough-Ellesmere

February 9, 1986

Richard Allen MLA
Room 212A, North Wing
Main Legislative Building
Queen's Park
Toronto, Ontario
M7A 1A2

Dear Richard,

We have received your letter of January 15, 1986. Your press release on the Shapiro Commission was not known to us at the time we wrote our letter to Bob Rae criticising your abandonment of party policy on private schools. Indeed, it is likely that this statement is hardly known at all to the public or party members.

Having read it, we certainly concur with all its essential points including "To be democratic, it (public education) must not sanction inequalities of power." The latter point, of course, contradicts your pro-separate school policy which precisely sanctions and promotes the privilege of power accorded to one religious group. We firmly believe that the majority of party members agree with us on this point. After all, it is difficult to accept that New Democcrats with our socialist and egalitarian traditions could be more backward than the Ontario population as a whole, whom the opinion polls record as being decisively opposed to the extension of separate school funding.

But the point of our letter to the party leader had little to do with differences of opinion on separate school funding. We believe you have abandoned socialist principle, and therefore your role as NDP education critic, when you publicly underwrote the Shapiro Commission's line. We knew this to be true, not merely on the basis of newspaper reportage, but on the basis of what some of us (not to mention many of the public) **heard** you say in a Toronto CBC radio interview very soon after the Shapiro report became publicly known. You told the reporter that you gave high marks to the Shapiro report. When asked if this was in contravention of party policy opposing private school funding from the public treasury, you unhesitatingly told the questioner that there had been little discussion of this principle in the ONDP and suggested that this was open for further debate -- quite opposite to the way you treat the separate school funding policy! We quite correctly regard the issuance, under your name, of a little-known press release which is in complete contradiction to your earlier-recorded and widely publicized statements as hardly an adequate defence of party policy.

The membership of the party and our supporters expect that you would have led the legislative battle to implement the key reforms of public education financing that the ONDP and NDP trustees have long sought -- increased funding from the province, shifting education taxes from property to

(page 2 missing? Page 3?)

you feel that asking questions in committee that reflect some concerns or that getting early pensions for teachers sufficiently meet your legislative responsibilities as the ONDP education critic. We conclude from this attitude that in reality the party's education critic has retreated from the NDP's defence of the public education system and the substantial reforms we have long sought.

Contrary to your flippant suggestion that our letter amounted to a demand that you make noise about the "good news" of our public education policy, we have properly expressed the party membership's expectation for concrete legislative action. We seek amendments to the budget which, under the terms of the Liberal-NDP Accord would not even entail the risk of a vote of non-confidence. Surely, the legislative situation is propitious for such serious measures. At the very least, we would expect the same amount of **real legislative action** that has attended the ramming through of the extension of separate school funding when dealing with reforms of the public education system. Particularly since the public education system is in financial distress and even crisis in terms of meeting the needs of the poor, the working class, women, non-white youth, etc.

We would be only too happy to emphasize the positive record of caucus on public education if it could be demonstrated to have substance.

Sincerely,

Diane Meaghan
Gord Doctorow

Gord Doctorow & Diane Meaghan
for NDPPE

P.S. We were rather astonished to note that your letter written ostensibly in reply to ours was sent to the entire caucus, research staff, constituency offices and riding presidents, when almost none of these people have seen the letter we sent to Bob Rae. We intend to send them the latter so that they will be able to judge what the issues are really about in a balanced fashion.

The Issue Behind Us

Will the issue go away now that the Liberals have announced their intention to take the lead from the Court of Appeal decision by moving to provide full funding for separate schools without waiting for a Supreme Court decision? Already other school systems are clamoring for their share at the public financial trough. The Jewish and Greek schools are lobbying hard on their own behalfs. In addition, according to the survey my election campaign conducted of the York Mills electorate, we discovered that many respondents who opposed extension of funding felt that if the Catholic schools receive full funding so should all the others. This corresponds somewhat to the judgement of the Shapiro Commission investigating government funds for private schools. Naturally, this poses a great conundrum for NDP policy, since we officially endorse funding to separate schools but deny it to all others.

This issue will haunt our party. It's not like our federal party's opposition to the War Measures Act in 1969, where we suffered a loss of public support at the time but were compensated by years of congratulatory respect for our principle and courage. On the contrary, our support for funding a sectarian school system will be a permanent stain on the party's banner. Already we are experiencing the loss of dedicated, longstanding party members either through resignations or expulsion. People will remember us as being in collusion with the Big Business parties on an issue that greatly disturbed Ontarians looking for a non-sectarian society as we move to the 21st century.

We will lose our soul. We will not be seen as the party that leads the way forward, but rather as a conformist party. Instead of breaking out of the relatively small base of support we have held up until now, we will remain there or, more likely, shrink.

My plea to the party is this. Take the courage of conviction. Let us not condemn ourselves to a shameful past and electoral purgatory. More than ever, the people of Ontario, and particularly its youth, need a fearless leadership to lead us forward to the goal of a socialist commonwealth.

Typeset by Union Labour

LOSING OUR SOUL

By Gord Doctorow

**Vice president of York Mills NDP—
NDP Candidate for York Mills 1985 provincial election and currently Co-chairperson of New Democrats to Preserve Public Education**

The following is the text of a speech made at the ONDP Education Policy Conference debate on Separate School funding on February 23, 1986.

I would like to address two questions. Is the policy of extending separate school funding consistent with or a denial of socialist and democratic principles? How is the NDP's future affected, as a party and as a movement, by the policy position (on separate school funding) we may choose to adopt at the next provincial convention?

A Question of Democracy

New Democrats should uphold the democratic doctrine of separation of church and state in order to guarantee formal equality of all religions before the law. In Ontario, there are 34 religious categories, according to the 1981 Census, the fourth largest of which (some 620,000) indicated no religious preference. This is a clear indication of the secular trend of society and of its highly pluralistic character as we head into the 21st century.

The Ontario Court of Appeal recently ruled, by a narrow three to two split (with the Chief Justice on the dissenting side), in favor of the government's right to extend public funds to Roman Catholic separate secondary schools in a judgement that conservatively interpreted the constitutional arrangement of Canada.

In essence, the majority argued that, since Confederation was founded on a principle of inequality and privilege for particular religious groups, then this aspect of the Canadian past should be perpetrated.

A Question of Socialism

This attitude contradicts the basis of the NDP—a party committed to fighting social injustice, to exploding the fetters of inequality, oppression and injustice by replacing the current system with a socialist democracy. Our tradition is that of social solidarity, which seeks to break down the gaps of language, race, gender, and class. Our goal is to move towards a socialist commonwealth which imbues youth with the sense of being at one with, rather than separate from, each other.

Socialists don't perceive the social divide to be that between Catholics and others; but rather between corporate power and the interests of working people and their natural allies—women, minorities, small farmers, etc.

It is no longer the case that Catholic youth require their own schools so as not to be bullied by Protestant bigots, as in the 1840's. In fact, if such a case were to be made, it would apply to protection for visible minorities in today's Ontario. It is no longer the case that a religious concession has to be made to keep francophones in Confederation as in 1867. Surely no one would seriously argue that refusing to extend separate school funding would result in a Catholic secession from Canada. Ironically, francophone education is adversely affected by full funding to separate schools because it results in the splitting of already small francophone boards. This was clearly pointed up in yesterday's workshop on French language schools during which our francophone colleagues revealed that the pre-eminent concerns for francophone parents had little to do with religion but rather a lot to do with language and proximity of schools.

The Future of Public Education

Is it fair that Catholics should have their own school system because of the injustices of over 100 years ago? By the same logic, if we are seeking to redress past injustices shouldn't we extend public funds to schools for Japanese-Canadians or Jews? Where do we stop? And on what basis?

Of course, there's the argument about guarantees provided in the Constitution of 1867—a past arrangement of previous elites. Is the NDP the party that maintains the dead hand of the past? Or are we the party that seeks to reform towards the future?

Our public system of education is badly in need of reform. Our class sizes are too large; the teaching population in the public, secular system is aging (average age is in the mid-forties); our schools still stream immigrant and working-class youth; the provincial government still underfunds the public school system; women teachers are, on the whole, junior in the seniority ranking of the system leaving them more vulnerable to job loss as a result of declining enrollment and the loss of students to the separate schools. In the meantime, the government is pumping in extra hundreds of millions of dollars into separate schools, duplicating an existing public secondary school system, at the expense of funds for public schools and social programs.

We should recall the purpose of this education policy conference: to reform and shake up the educational system, to meet broad social needs, to raise up the status of youth. We need to complete Egerton Ryerson's task of compulsory public education for all by moving to education that meets the common needs of all.

A socialist policy fosters the unity of working class youth and the poor and disadvantaged. It also fosters unity among education workers. But Bill 30 (the proposed separate school funding legislation) is a prescription for fractious disunity.

It pits Catholic teachers against non-Catholic teachers. While Catholic teacher can move freely into either of the publicly funded education systems, non-Catholics inside the separate schools are constrained and on-trial with respect to their lifestyles and publicly expressed views on such topics as birth control and choice on abortion, Catholic trustees, representing the separate schools, have justified, before the legislature committee holding hearings on Bill 30, the idea of a biased promotion policy against non-Catholic teachers ostensibly to safeguard the Catholic character of their system. Moreover, while caretakers and secretaries in both systems may belong to the same unions, the Metro Separate School Board has publicly declared that non-Catholics are not welcome to work in separate schools as they might provide improper role models for the students. Thus providing disunity within the same unions on the basis of religion.

NDP members voice opposition to RC financing

BY ROBERT MATAS Feb. 24/86
The Globe and Mail

New Democratic Party Leader Bob Rae has found little support among the rank and file for the party's endorsement of full Government financing for Ontario's Roman Catholic high schools.

During a four-hour discussion organized by the party yesterday, 31 of 37 speakers criticized the extension of separate school financing, which began last September with Government grants for Grade 11. Separate schools had previously been publicly financed through Grade 10.

Most critics said that the Government should finance only one school system, open to all. Some speakers attacked the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church and said the Government should not finance the promotion of those teachings.

Mr. Rae's strongest support came from NDP caucus members and separate school teachers, who urged party members to accept the historical and constitutional guarantees to the separate school system and to direct their energies to improving education in the schools.

The discussion was part of a two-day conference on education issues.

Mr. Rae said later in an interview that the opposition will have no impact on the caucus' support for the minority Liberal Government's separate school policy. "Our position is very clear. . . . I'm committed to moving ahead with the decision," he said.

The party reflects the division of opinion across the province, he said. Nevertheless, the party developed its position in support of Government financing at its annual conventions and during provincial council meetings. He said the caucus stands by those decisions.

Mr. Rae said there was no division of opinion when the caucus discussed the issue last week. "Our support has consistently been very strong," he said.

Earlier, New Democrat MPP Brian Charlton (Hamilton Mountain) said about a third of the 25 members of the caucus are opposed to full Government financing and feel the province should have only one publicly financed school system.

But the caucus is bound by the party's position, he said. The NDP endorsed full financing in 1970 on the basis of a resolution from his riding, he told about 100 party members and observers at the meeting.

The party has held eight policy conventions since the resolution was adopted and now, as a Government is about to extend the financing, some members want the party to change its policy, he said. "Where were these people for the past 15 years?"

Sheila Cary-Meagher, a party member and former Toronto Board of Education school trustee, urged the NDP caucus to "pay attention to what is said today.

"There is a lot going on and we feel like we are not getting through to the MPPs that are supposed to represent us."

Though she was educated in Catholic schools, she said she does not believe the province should finance two school systems.

John Fauteux, president of the Ontario English Catholic Teachers Federation, who attended as an observer, said in an interview outside the meeting that he was upset about the direction of debate within the NDP.

He said he expected New Democrats to be discussing how teachers' rights would be protected under extended Government financing. The Catholic teachers' group has previously called for the province to ensure that no teachers' rights are adversely affected by the changes.

But the discussion dwelt on whether financing should be provided and not on what changes should be made to the bill that will implement the financing.

In the closing speech of the meeting, Mr. Rae appealed to party members to work toward co-operation between the two publicly financed school systems. The party should not repeat the religious wars of past decades, but concentrate on improving both systems, he said.

Globe & Mail
Wed. Feb. 26/86

ORLAND FRENCH

Tablet too stony to erase

IF YOU EVER want to know where the New Democratic Party stands on anything, all you have to do is look it up. Policy is all written down on paper and bound in a big book called, appropriately, the policy book.

Of the three major parties in Canada, the NDP is the only one that habitually writes notes to itself. Every resolution adopted by council or convention, as far back as is visible into the mists of time, is written down and preserved as official party policy.

It is a heavy document indeed, for it is reputed that the early chapters include the actual stone tablets containing the 10 Commandments. With the original signature of God, as told to Moses.

The Liberals and Conservatives are not burdened with The Book. Well, yes, they try to live by the teachings of The Good Book, sometimes successfully, but that is not the same thing. Policies enunciated on the fly by these two parties sometimes live as long as, well, the fly.

Not the NDP. What is written is written. All those people who were decrying on the weekend the NDP policy on separate school funding were trying to erase a stone tablet with a chalk brush. It can't be done.

Policy under fire

In case you missed it, the Ontario NDP held a policy conference in Toronto to discuss education. Naturally, with the Ontario Court of Appeal recently upholding the constitutionality of separate secondary school funding by a vote of three to two, there was a fair amount of attention paid to the discussion on the issue. Thirty-one of 37 speakers, reported The Globe's Robert Matas, denounced the NDP policy of promoting full funding of separate secondary schools.

Furthermore, NDP MLA Brian Charlton (Hamilton Mountain) was quoted as saying that one-third of the current NDP caucus was opposed to the policy as well.

This was quite a bombshell. It earned Mr. Charlton an early-morning call from his leader, Bob Rae, who was naturally interested in knowing why this was news to him and, if it were true, would Mr. Charlton name names.

Yesterday, Mr. Charlton's explanation was that he had been talking about the caucus as it existed in 1970, when the policy was adopted. He said he did not realize that Mr. Matas was referring to the caucus of 1986. Perhaps, too, he did not realize that Mr. Matas, The Globe's education reporter, is a recorder of contemporary events, not a historian.

It was clear from the comments on the weekend that some NDP supporters are concerned that their party has drifted from Socialist ideals on this issue. They have a point. It is one of the great mysteries of our time why a party dedicated to equality for all has endorsed a policy of government funding for a special-interest group.

Proud of effort

Not only has it endorsed the policy, but it takes pride in taking credit for being the first party to propose it in Ontario. (The Liberals dispute this, but the disparity is a matter of a week or so, which makes little difference now.)

The policy was adopted by a party convention in 1970. It was called the Concept of Sharing, and was reaffirmed in 1984 after former premier William Davis reversed his position against full funding of Roman Catholic separate schools.

It was a masterpiece in doublespeak. It called for full funding of Roman Catholic secondary schools, but "with a minimum cost in division and duplication of the existing educational program." It demanded full grants for separate schools "on condition that separate school boards and public school boards join in planning shared facilities and services." This was to include the sharing of school buildings.

The NDP will be asking for amendments to Bill 30, says education critic Richard Allen, but so far the party hasn't thought it all out. For one thing, it might recommend the creation of superboards to ensure that public and separate entities co-ordinate sharing.

Full funding with a condition. It's all written down in the policy book, where it has languished since 1970. This may not suit those New Democrats who expressed their fears for the future of education, but, according to Mr. Rae, they are entitled to their opinions. It's a democratic party.

Charlton: weak explanation.

DRAFT MOTION FOR 1986 ONDP CONVENTION

Proposed by

NEW DEMOCRATS TO PRESERVE PUBLIC EDUCATION (NDPPE)

WHEREAS:

1. the New Democratic Party has traditionally opposed special privilege based on wealth or social status, on race or ethnic origin, on sex or sexual orientation, or on religion; and

2. the current ONDP policy supports the funding of Roman Catholic separate secondary schools but not of other religious schools, which notably confers a special privilege; and

3. only a broadly based public educational system can bring together children of all ethnic, religious and social groups in a community to prepare them for life in the pluralistic world in which they will live and work; and

4. such a system should teach children to understand and respect a variety of religious perspectives and cultural traditions, and should not endorse or attempt to inculcate any particular doctrine; and

5. the further fragmentation of education through duplication of facilities and dilution of resources is fiscally unsound and educationally irresponsible; and

6. the Supreme Court of Canada has yet to determine whether proposed legislation to exend public funding to Roman Catholic separate secondary schools violates the non-discrimination provisions of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms; and until that determination is made, such legislation (or anticipatory executive action) is at best premature;

BE IT THEREFORE RESOLVED:

1. That the ONDP declare its support for a strong non-sectarian public educational system.

2. That the ONDP oppose any extension of public funding to Roman Catholic separate secondary schools or to private schools.

Dear New Democrat,

The resolution on the reverse side is brought to your attention by the New Democrats to Preserve Public Education. This resolution, if passed, will replace and supercede current policy which is numbered 9.2.2 in the policy book and which is titled "A Statement on the Financing of Catholic High Schools". We urge you to take the resolution to your riding for discussion and passing on to the convention.

The deadline for resolutions is April 4. The provincial office should receive the resolution along with an accompanying Resolution Submission Form containing the number and title of the resolution it is to replace by that date. At this late date, submissions by registered mail should be considered.

In Solidarity,

New Democrats to Preserve
Public Education

Financial opposition to separate school funding

Whereas the provincial government's proportion of public secondary education costs has continuously decreased since 1975 from nearly 60%, to some 38% in 1985;
and whereas it is debatable whether government estimates as to the costs of extended public funding of Roman Catholic secondary schools are high enough.
and whereas it would be naive for taxpayers to think that the government will pay the full cost of extended funding without diverting funds from public secondary education;
and whereas expensive duplication of facilities, resources and services would occur if too completely parallel systems of education are established; therefore,
be it resolved that the ONDP pressure the current provincial government to stop further interim financing for separte school boards until the issue of constitutionality is decided by the courts;
and be it further resolved that the ONDP adopt a stated position in opposition to the principle of public funding for Roman Catholic or other denominational school systems, in order to prevent even greater financial burdens on Ontario taxpayers.

Philosophical opposition to separate school funding

Whereas denominational schools are, by their very nature, elitist and undemocratic and devisive, because of their right to restrict entry;
and whereas public fundung of denominational schools integrates rather than separates Church and State, thus encouraging elitism and devisiveness in our society;
and whereas democratic socialism can only be nurtured through non-sectarian and liberally-minded schooling;
and whereas Catholic dogma and actions have often be contrary to basic rights of women and organized labour; therefore,
be it resolved that the ONDP adopt a stated position in opposition to the principle of public funding for Roman Catholic and other denominational school systems.

Re-affirmation of opposition to private school funding

Whereas it has been the long-standing stated policy of the ONDP to oppose any form of public financing for private schools in this province;
and whereas the provincial government has received, and is currently studying, written recommendations from the Shapiro Commission on Private School Funding in Ontario;
and whereas certain members of the ONDP Caucus have publicly supported various aspects of the Shapiro Report; therefore,
be it resolved that the ONDP reaffirm its existing policy of opposing any form of public funding of private schools in Ontario.

Opposition to Government under-funding of education

Whereas the provincial government's share of funding of education has steadily fallen over the past decade from almost 60% to under 40%;
and whereas the educational share of total provincial expenditures has decreased to under 20% in 1985; therefore,
be it resolved that the ONDP pressure the provincial government to undertake a gradual return to the 60% funding level for public education, so as to reflect the appropriate priority education deserves.

(Found in 1986-May)

LET THE VOTERS DECIDE ON SEPARATE SCHOOL FUNDING EXTENSION

Whereas the issue of extended funding to the Separate School system has been side-stepped in an undemocratic manner in the last provincial election.

We the undersigned Ontario voters petition the Lieutenant Governor and the Legislative Assembly to place this question directly before the electorate, preferably on the next municipal ballot or failing that in a province wide referendum, namely as follows:-

"Are you in favor of the extension of full public funding to grades 11 and higher of the Separate Secondary school system as per Bill 30?" (Proposed text of ballot)

Only a direct ballot will clear the air on this sensitive issue

Come kick off the campaign with us

Come participate in democracy!

NAME ADDRESS SIGNATURE TELEPHONE

.....

.....

Grassroots Committee for a Ballot on Separate School Funding Extension,
P.O. Box 126, Rexdale, Ont. M9W 5K9. Tel. 743-8848

SIGN THE GRASSROOTS PETITION!

SERVE NOTICE ON QUEEN'S PARK: WITHOUT A MANDATE FROM THE VOTERS THEY HAVE NO RIGHT TO PROCEED WITH BILL 30!

CHALLENGE YOUR ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE - WHERE DOES HE/SHE STAND ON:
OUR RIGHT TO VOTE ON FUNDING EXTENSION

WE DONT WANT TO BE DISENFRANCHISED AGAIN!

"WHY SHOULD OUR SCHOOLS BE THE PAWNS IN YOUR POLITICAL GAMES?"

FOR EXTRA COPIES OF THE PETITION, OR TO GET YOUR COPY OF THE GRASSROOTS BRIEF TO THE LEGISLATURE SEND US A STAMPED SELF-ADDRESSED ENVELOPE. BETTER STILL START UP A PETITION CAMPAIGN IN YOUR OWN COMMUNITY!

RC school fund issue 'splits us'

By DICK CHAPMAN
Staff Writer

The NDP is the most right-wing political party in Ontario on the issue of amendments to the Catholic funding bill, says rebel NDP executive candidate Gordon Doctorow.

"Have you ever seen a labor party that hinders the rights of workers? That's what is happening," Doctorow, a Scarboro school teacher, said last night.

He was responding to charges by Richard Allen, NDP member of the Legislature for Hamilton West, that the Tories are stalling passage of the funding bill in order to create a rift at the NDP policy convention June 20.

Doctorow is one of several well-known NDPers who say they want to steer the party back onto a true socialist course at the Hamilton meeting.

The rebel group will attempt to capture several executive posts — including president — to make its point.

Doctorow warns there's a serious Catch-22 in a funding bill amendment being proposed by the NDP. The amendment would force non-Catholic teachers to work for a separate school board if they lose their job in the public schools.

Even the Tories' amendment proposal would guarantee any public school teacher a job in the public system, Docotorow notes.

"If I was forced to work in a Catholic school, then how would I go to a pro-choice rally (on the abortion issue)? I'd lose my job. So the NDP amendment would in effect force me to be fired."

'NDP POLICY HURTS LABOR'

GORDON DOCTOROW
Leads rebel group

The NDP is to the right of the Liberals on an amendment forcing students to take religious instruction if they opt to attend a separate school, Doctorow said, and to the right of the Tories again on the issue of allowing non-Catholic teachers to apply at Catholic boards.

The NDP wants non-Catholics to wait 10 years, while the Tories would allow them to apply — and get equal treatment — right away.

"Never mind if you're in favor of extending full funding to Catholics or not," said Doctorow. "As a civil libertarian, how can you support these policies? They are anti-labor. I'll tell you, many people in the NDP party are just shaking their heads."

Preserve Public Education

GCIU LABEL

NDP SLATE WANTS MORE SOCIALISM

Rebels say left's right

By DICK CHAPMAN
Staff Writer

A partial slate of rebel candidates will try to force the Ontario NDP to change its political course at next month's Hamilton policy convention.

They say the NDP has sold out its socialist principles and fudged its way perilously close to oblivion.

They don't want to capture control of the party in officer elections; they just want to grab the steering wheel long enough to make a hard left turn.

Judy Rebick, a pro-abortion advocate, headlines the group, which she calls "very credible people" who want the NDP to be a much stronger, activist force in Ontario society.

Rebick is running for president to make her point.

"For sure we want to affect Ontario politics," Rebick said recently. "We feel the NDP should be orienting a lot more towards the socialist and labor movements and supporting their fights.

"There's a real disaffection in the party right now."

The rebel slate includes Malcolm Buchanan, past president of the Ontario Secondary Schools Teachers Federation; Mary Rowles, former NDP women's committee chairman; David Tomczak, former Metro NDP chairman; Diane Meaghan, former York Centre MPP candidate; and Patricia Finlay, Spadina NDP president.

JUDY REBICK
A grab for the wheel

GORDON DOCTOROW
"Fundamental betrayal"

Four-plank platform

Their four-plank platform for the June 20 convention includes: A shorter work week; opposition to private and separate school funding, and open campaigning for abortion clinics.

The fourth plank covers a variety of issues, but the thrust is more militant support for - and NDP presence in — any fights over women's issues, an extra-billing ban, disarmament, daycare and liberation struggles.

Rebick said her group wants activism even at the local riding level and hard election campaigning on some issues. "We don't feel the party has spoken out strongly on the issue of abortion.

In some cases, she said, the NDP simply has the wrong policy.

"Clearly, the separate school funding issue is the most controversial issue in the party right now."

Gordon Doctorow, another rebel candidate, said NDP leadership is guilty of "a fundamental betrayal" of socialist doctrines.

"We gotten to the point where the NDP doesn't present a socialist vision. It mucks up its principles with deals and manoeuvres, so we get things like (the Liberal-NDP) accord, separate school funding and meanderings about coalition governments."

Rebick figures her slate has the best shot of any recent internal opposition group to shake the party out of a middle-of-the-road course.

Added Doctorow: "We're fighting for the soul of the NDP."

Left Caucus newsletter

Published by the Steering Committee
of the
ONDP Left Caucus
Station G., Box 92
1075 Queen St. E.
Toronto M4M 1H0

MAY, 1986
VOL. 1, NO. 3

ONT. LEFT CAUCUS SUPPORTS ACTIVIST PARTY CAMPAIGN

The most serious challenge in over a decade to the status quo of the Ontario NDP has been launched in a campaign over policy and representation on the party executive to be decided by the delegates to the June 20-21 convention.

Endorsed in principle by the ONDP Left Caucus conference last fall, what has become known as the Campaign for an Activist Party has been winning the support of hundreds of activists.

The campaign aims to root the party in all the energetic social movements which are fighting for equality, justice, solidarity and peace. Its program encompasses all the major concerns of the party including opposition to funding RC high schools, the fight for party democracy and more broadly-based political discussion and debate of key issues, proper funding of ridings and a commitment to grass roots organizing and identification with social movements and struggles to a varying extent still outside of the party.

Having already endorsed Judy Rebick, a prominent spokesperson of the pro-choice movement, as a candidate for president, a May 4th rally endorsed a further number of persons who in varying degrees are identified with the party but in some cases are prominent in their own right in movements that are only supportive of the NDP. It is hoped through this campaign that these movements will come to increasingly identify with and become active in the party and help to revitalize it.

The struggle to develop socialist policy and political practice in the NDP is an ongoing one. The campaign for an Activist Party is very much part of a process of moving the NDP in that direction, one which the Left Caucus has promoted for some time. The Left Caucus in Ontario will continue to play that role for the long term.

David Tomczak, St. A & P
Co-Chair, Left Caucus

RECOMMENDED CANDIDATES OF CAMPAIGN FOR AN ACTIVIST PARTY

President	Judy Rebick
Vice President	(Metro female) Mary Rowles
Vice President	(Metro male) George Ehring
Vice President	(S. Ont. male) Malcolm Buchanan
Foreign Affairs	Marv Gandall
Treasurer	David Tomczak
Metro (two women)	Pat Findlay, Diane Meaghan
Metro (two men)	Gord Doctorow, Allan Millard
Ottawa	Fred Gloger, Anne John Baptiste
Kingston	Pamela Cross

This lists the candidates endorsed by the campaign as of its Toronto meeting on May 4th. It is expected that as the campaign gets more widely known, the number of recommended candidates may increase.

SERIES OF LEFT CAUCUS FORUMS STIMULATE METRO AREA NDP

At the ONDP Left Caucus annual conference held in Toronto last fall, over 50 leading party activists discussed and adopted the general line of a document "Political Action and Organizing for the 1986 Provincial Convention".

A 16 member Steering Committee was elected. It was mandated to take appropriate steps to promote the following:

- Freedom of choice, defence of Dr. Morgantaler and the building of the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics,
- Equal pay for work of equal value,
- Defend our trade unions,
- Preservation of public education and the defeat of Bill 30,
- A shorter work week at the same take home pay,
- The interaction of the NDP riding associations and the anti-war movement,
- Increased spending on socially neces-

Continued overleaf

SUCCESSFUL NDP YOUTH CONVENTION ELECTS LEFT WING LEADERSHIP

Sixty-One Ontario New Democratic Youth participated in the annual conference held on the U of T campus May 10-11.

Outgoing '85-86 campus organizer Neil Fettes opened his speech for president by challenging the ONDPY to be proud to declare themselves socialists. Neil was elected president by a vote of 45 against 3 for his opponent, who campaigned in support the Accord and public funding of RC high schools.

The elections were a victory for the left with four supporters of the Left Caucus elected to the executive: Neil Fettes, President; Lesley Nicholls, vice-president; Andrew McNeill, secretary and Nick Marchese, communications director. The two voted as endorsed youth delegates to the ONDP executive are Nicholls and

Lesley Nicholls, vice-president, ONDPY

Ross Dowson, #2311
40 Homewood Ave
Toronto, M4Y 2K2
416-961-4554
June 9, 1986

To James Rusk, Peking,Shina, c/o
The Editor of the Globe and Mail

I read with great interest your June 9 column in the Globe and Mail. It would appear that inspiring times are opening up in China which you will be privileged to report on. I am sure your readers are looking forward to more information about the attempts of that great peoples' intellectuals to stimulate a genuine flowering of the new growths that they are husbanding.

Whatever drives Hu Qili - idealism, or as you express it, the sheer need to wrestle with economic and technical problems, nothing but good can come out of this development - not only for China but for the entire world. No doubt both pressures will stimulate a cross-fertilization.

While quite understandable, you are in part mistaken when you suggest that they will be wrestling "economic and technical problems with which no state has yet grappled." The controversies of the 1920s in the USSR dominated by the question of the New Economic Policy were an earlier attempt to grapple with somewhat similar problems, information on which was buried along with the bodies of the major protagonists by Stalin in his suppression of Trotskyism. Evgeny Preobrazhensky who became a leading theoretician of the Left Opposition headed by Leon Trotsky addressed himself to the question of developing a backward and underdeveloped economy in the direction of socialism in his book, The New Economics, an experiment in theoretic1 analysis of the Soviet Economy, first issued by the State Publishers in 1926 but suppressed and its author shot in Stalin's great purge in 1937. It re-appeared in 1960 in English under the imprint of Oxford University Press.

Is it an accident that this opening development has already resulted in the publication of a Critical Biography of Trotsky by Li Xianrong, a member of the Chinese Communist Party, commissioned by the Institute for Research, a subsidiary of the Academy of Sciences of the Peoples Republic of China? While the biography itself has not yet reached the West a review of it appeared in the November 7, 1985 issue of Shijie Lishi (World History

I enclose a copy of a translation of this review and a commentary by the eminent Belgian economist which appeared in Iternational Viewpoint May 19, 1986. He sees it asa complete juridical rehabilitation of Trotsky

sincerely
Ross Dowson

Check out an overview of this debate in Alexander Erlich's The Soviet Industrialization Debate 1924-28, Harvard U. P, 1960

June 19, 1986

An Open Letter To NDP Delegates

From: New Democrats to Preserve Public Education

Re: Richard Allen Memo on Separate School Funding

We would like to correct several misleading impressions conveyed in Dr. Richard Allen's memo that was circulated to delegates dated May 1986.

1. There Is No "Constitutional Obligation" To Fund Roman Catholic Separate Secondary Schools.

The unanimous decision of the Ontario Court of Appeal accepted the Tiny Township precedent on Separate School funding as binding. That is, the Government is not obligated by the Constitution to extend public funding to Roman Catholic Separate Secondary Schools. However, the majority of the Court of Appeal ruled that the Government has the power to grant additional funding if it so chooses.

Speaking on the dessenting side, Chief Justice Howland argued that Bill 30 is subject to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and "the followers of one religion are not to be beneficiaries of greater benefits provided by law than the followers of other religions".

The Supreme Court of Canada will rule on the discriminatory nature of Bill 30. Until it does, a moratorium on any implementation of Bill 30 is the only course of action that makes sense.

Bill 30 And Discrimination

- Bill 30 is discriminatory
- Bill 30 is anti-labour

The NDP Cacus supports discriminatory hiring on a religious basis for 10 years after Bill 30 becomes law.

After 10 years potential employees must "undertake to respect the philosophy and traditions of Roman Catholic separate schools in the performance of their duties" as a condition of employment. Even the Conservatives proposed full human rights protection for all staff from day one! Are we to be less enlightened than the Conservatives on labour practices?

The NDP Caucus is advocating the establishment of two distinct categories of employees in Separate School Boards. Designated and voluntary non-Catholic and Catholic staff transferring from a public school board will be protected by the Ontario Human Rights Code. They will be working beside their non-designated Catholic colleagues who will have no human rights protection.

On the other hand, will Bill 30 guarantee that designated employees be evaluated and promoted without prejudice?

Is this not discrimination in the workplace, Dr. Allen?

BILL 30 ONLY COVERS EMPLOYEES WHO TRANSFER TO SEPARATE SCHOOL BOARDS.

A non-catholic seeking his or her first teaching job has less than one-half the opportunity for employment that a practising Catholic applicant has. This is NOT right!

What role do Pastoral Letters of Reference play in Socialist labour policy?

Delegates should be aware that some Roman Catholic School Boards require Pastoral References from job applicants.

.../3

Extension of funding to public secondary schools operated by Roman Catholic separate school boards will negatively affect public secondary school teachers with 5 or less years of experience. The impact on women teachers would be greatly disproportionate, as more than one in five of all the women in public secondary schools would be affected. The impact on the public secondary system, if it loses this many women teachers would have far-reaching negative implications for students, particularly with respect to role models.

Bill 30 does not secure adequate protection for female staff most affected by low seniority. The Bill simply states ".....The public board shall endeavour to maintain and promote affirmative action with respect to the employment of women on its teaching staff." "Shall endeavour clauses are not good enough!

What Will Bill 30 Do?

Arguments stating that extended funding only affects the last two senior grades in Separate Secondary School is misleading. Currently full funding for Separate Schools exists only up to Grade 8. Grades 9 and 10 are partially funded as a gift from a previous Tory Government. If Bill 30 is implemented, it will mean extended public funding for ALL secondary grades. The resulting additional costs will be borne on the backs of local taxpayers and/or a loss from the existing public school system.

The Impact On The Public School System

(1) Students

Ministry of Education figures project a transfer of 64,637 students from the public to the separate system between 1984 and 1990. The public system, open to all applicants regardless of religion, could diminish by over 4,000 teaching and non-teaching jobs.

The public elementary system will be seriously affected in the long run, as Roman Catholic parents who left their children in the public system to avoid transfer after grade 8 or 10, enrol them in separate elementary schools.

.../4

(2) Program

As student enrolments dwindle, there is an inevitable loss of program opportunity. The effect of declining enrolment has been crippling in some areas, and will be magnified by student loss to the separate system.

Two smaller competing systems cannot match the program offering a larger system.

(3) Funding

$185 million was lost to the public school system in the first year of funding to Separate Secondary Schools for Grade 11.

By 1992 according to Ministry figures, grant loss will be over .5 billion dollars.

It is unrealistic to suggest that the public school system will not be negatively affected.

Despite Richard Allen's claims, Catholic schools have already received a large share of public support.

25% of Ontario students are in separate boards. They get 38% of provincial education grants. From 1974-83 grants increased by 200%, consuming 41% of new grant money.

Why doesn't Dr. Allen communicate with fellow New Democrat Fiona Nelson, President, Association of Large School Boards of Ontario? She can explain to him the devastating financial implications for public school ratepayers of the extension of funding.

Dr. Allen, who is going to pay for the enormous additional costs involved in operating two parallel educational systems when we cannot afford to adequately fund one public system now?

Will other essential social services be cut to fund the Roman Catholic Separate School system?

Funding For Other Groups

The Shapiro Commission on Private and Independent Schools has stated that funding for the separate system is "immoral and discriminatory" unless funding is extended to other groups that seek it.

Bill 30 is the thin edge of the wedge.

To suggest that other interested groups, religious and otherwise, will not receive public funding even if Bill 30 passes, is unrealistic.

We will be left with a shattered and fragmented public school system, the possible dumping ground for the hard to serve.

Our socialist ideal of a school system reflecting our multi-cultural reality, where students of all faiths play, grow and learn together will be torn and shattered.

Why Should Only Catholics Get Funding?

Dr. Allen states that Catholics were promised full funding as part of the bargain for Confederation. He uses this as an argument for funding Catholic schools while refusing to fund other groups. By that logic, the NDP should be committed to maintaining the Senate which was also part of the Confederation bargain.

Should we be held hostage to old elite arrangements of the distant past that would confer special privileges to specific groups in society?

What is it that Catholics don't have that everybody else has in terms of educational opportunity? Nothing! They have equal access to the public school system. Moreover, Bill 30 would confer additional rights over and above those of the general public.

CONCLUSION

The NDP must strive for an educational system which provides for equal opportunity in training and learning for life to all Ontario's citizens. Such an educational system must uphold by precept and example the principles of non-discrimination and social solidarity.

The long term solution is to establish and fund just one non-sectarian public school system that will be open to all regardless of sex, religion, ability, language, handicap and location.

As New Democrats we must bring young people together:

- to play together
- to work together
- to learn together

In this way we will build a strong Ontario based on equality and unity and not division.

Let's not support an educational apartheid system in Ontario!

opeiu 343
Printed in a Union Shop.

NDPPE New Democrats to Preserve Public Education

CAUCUS MEETINGS

TO PLAN FLOOR STRATEGY AND TO DISCUSS RESOLUTIONS

FRIDAY	JUNE 20	6 PM TO 7 PM
SATURDAY	JUNE 21	8:30 PM TO 9:30 PM
SATURDAY	JUNE 21	NOON LUNCH BREAK

THE CAUCUS ROOM IS WENTWORTH C

opeiu,343

NDPPE New Democrats to Preserve Public Education

S O C I A L

AND

C A S H B A R

FRIDAY JUNE 20 11:15 PM

SHERATON HAMILTON HOTEL - SUITE 302

(ACROSS FROM THE CONVENTION CENTER)

COME AND DISCUSS WITH US

P.C
LIB
NDP
EXTENSION OF
SEPARATE SCHOOL FUNDING
MICHENER

MEMORANDUM June 21, 1986

TO: ONDP Convention Delegates

FROM: NDPPE (New Democrats to Preserve Public Education)

RE: Provincial Council Emergency Resolution on Funding for Separate Secondary Schools

The Provincial Council Emergency Resolution placed before the Convention this afternoon makes a number of false and/or misleading claims about amendments to Bill 30. The final version of Bill 30 does not "ensure sharing", nor does it provide adequate job protection for displaced employees of public school boards. Furthermore passage of Bill 30 will inevitably lead to legitimate demands for public funding of other private and religious schools which is contrary to ONDP policy.

Provincial Council delegates did not see any of the final wording of Bill 30 before passing the Emergency Resolution last Thursday evening. So that Convention delegates may judge for themselves the validity of the resolution's claims, we are providing a comparison of some of the pertinent clauses of Bill 30 along with the Resolution plus a brief commentary of our own. We believe that this comparison will show that the final version of Bill 30 not only betrays the original intent of the 1970 ONDP policy on sharing and cooperation, it also violates several basic labour principles on discrimination in the workplace.

The Emergency Resolution says this:

> **WHEREAS the New Democratic Party has supported the completion of full funding for the separate school system since 1970, and**
>
> **WHEREAS legislation completing that funding stands ready for final passage in the Legislature after almost one year of debate and public hearings, and**
>
> **WHEREAS the caucus has not only upheld party policy, but has achieved major improvements in the legislation to strengthen job protections and put into practice our longstanding "Concept of Sharing" policy,**
>
> **THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this convention**
>
> **1) reaffirms our support for extension of full funding to the separate school system**
>
> **2) welcomes the victories by the New Democratic caucus in obtaining in legislation**
>
> > **a) a package of anti-discrimination provisions for teachers and staff that will provide wide-ranging job protections**

Bill 30 says this:

1361.—(1) A public board that has jurisdiction in an area that is also the area or part of the area of jurisdiction of a Roman Catholic school board shall designate, in accordance with the regulations or by agreement between the boards, the persons on its supervisory officers staff, elementary teaching staff, secondary teaching staff and support staff whose services will not be required by the public board consequent upon the election of the Roman Catholic school board to perform the duties of a secondary school board.

(5) In determining the designations referred to in subsection (1) and in implementing its employment policy thereafter, the public board shall endeavour to maintain and promote affirmative action with respect to the employment of women on its teaching staff.

(6) The public board shall make the designations referred to in subsection (1) in each of the first ten school years during which the Roman Catholic school board performs the duties of a secondary school board but not later than the date prescribed by the regulations for each year.

(10) If a designated person objects to the transfer of employment to the Roman Catholic school board for reasons of conscience, he or she may so advise the public board and, unless it is of the opinion that the objection is not made in good faith, the public board shall designate another person in place of the person making the objection.

(21) Section 4 of the *Human Rights Code, 1981* applies to designated persons employed by a Roman Catholic school board in respect of their employment, advancement and promotion by the Board, notwithstanding section 23 of the said Code.

1361a.—(1) For the purpose of maintaining the distinctiveness of separate schools, the Roman Catholic school board may require as a condition of employment that teachers hired by the board after the ten school year period mentioned in subsection 1361 (6) agree to respect the philosophy and traditions of Roman Catholic separate schools in the performance of their duties.

(2) Subject to subsection (1), and despite section 23 of the *Human Rights Code, 1981*, section 4 of the said Code applies to ensure that such teachers employed by a Roman Catholic school board will enjoy equal opportunity in respect of their employment, advancement and promotion by the board.

(3) If it is finally determined by a court that subsection (1) or (2) prejudicially affects a right or privilege with respect to denominational schools guaranteed by the Constitution of Canada, subsections (1) and (2) are repealed, it being the intention of the Legislature that the remaining provisions of the Act are separate from and independent of the said subsections.

Comment:

Clause 1361 clearly permits discrimination in the workplace. It allows for discrimination in the hiring of teachers and other staff. It also creates two categories of employees - designated and non-designated - each of which works under different rules regarding human rights.

For example, employees hired by separate school boards and who are not designated by public boards are **not** covered by Section 4 of the Human Rights Code, 1981. After ten years new teachers are protected **only if** they "agree to respect the philosophy and traditions of Roman Catholic Separate Schools". The Courts have upheld the right of Catholic school boards to fire employees who violate some of the dictates of the Roman Catholic Church.

Employees designated by public boards (including Catholics) will have "life-style" protection under the Code; non-designated (i.e., all other) employees will not.

Furthermore lack of a letter of approval from a local priest may still be used to eliminate non-Catholics from job competition.

Thus despite the claims of the Resolution, Bill 30 gives public funding to school boards which will have employment practices that allow discrimination on the basis of religion, contrary to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

The Emergency Resolution says this:

> b) measures to create joint committees between public and separate boards to ensure sharing of facilities, resources, programs and staff

Bill 30 says this:

136ka.—

(12) A joint committee or combined joint committee is responsible for exploring opportunities for transfering facilities, leasing facilities or sharing services, facilities, resources and staff, and may make recommendations in respect of the implementation of programs for such purpose.

(13) A public board and a Roman Catholic school board shall consider any recommendation submitted to it in writing by a joint committee or combined joint committee and shall not refuse its approval without having given the committee an opportunity to be heard by the board or by the board and any committee of the board to which such recommendation is referred.

(14) If a recommendation requires the approval of two or more boards to be effective and one or more of the boards concerned rejects the recommendation, the board or boards that approved the recommendation may make representations to the board or boards that rejected the recommendation, in which case the board or boards that rejected the recommendation shall reconsider the recommendation and may approve or reject it.

(15) Each joint committee and combined joint committee shall report annually upon its proceedings and the disposition of its recommendations to the public board, the Roman Catholic school board and to the Planning and Implementation Commission which shall review and comment upon the reports as part of its annual report to the Minister.

Comment:

Nothing in Sections 136ka (12)-(15) ensures sharing. There is no legal compulsion on either public or separate school boards to share or cooperate in any way. In view of the testimony before the Standing Committee on Social Development on the need to protect the "Catholicity" or "mission" of separate schools it is unlikely that voluntary sharing will occur.

Bill 30 purpetuates further segregation along religious lines yet it does nothing to make sharing obligatory in an era of severe financial restraint in education when economy and efficiency are so essential.

The Emergency Resolution says this:

> 3) reaffirms our commitment that the provisions of Bill 30, as implemented, must ensure that no employee of the public school system loses their job as a result of the extension of full funding

Bill 30 says this:

1361 (10) If a designated person objects to the transfer of employment to the Roman Catholic school board for reasons of conscience, he or she may so advise the public board and, unless it is of the opinion that the objection is not made in good faith, the public board shall designate another person in place of the person making the objection.

Comment:

How is a school board to determine "good faith"? If boards have complete discretion in judging "good faith", employees could still be forced to transfer to a separate school whether or not they are "conscientious objectors". This subsection provides no enforcable protection for such employees.

The Emergency Resolution says this:

> 4) pledges to continue the fight to ensure the implementation of Bill 30 guarantees that public schools in single-school communities are maintained

Bill 30 says this:

> **136v.**—(1) Where the Planning and Implementation Commission is of the opinion that the implementation plans of one or more Roman Catholic school boards and one or more public boards that have jurisdiction in the same or part of the same area of jurisdiction as the Roman Catholic school board or boards do not together provide a method that meets the criteria set out in subsection (2), the Commission shall so notify the boards and shall specify for them the matters that must be resolved in order to meet the criteria.
>
> (2) The criteria are that the method,
>
> (a) must permit the Roman Catholic school board to provide viable secondary school education;
>
> (b) must promote the best interests of public education in Ontario;
>
> (c) must ensure the viability of the secondary school program offered by the public board especially in single secondary school communities; and
>
> (d) must ensure, in a community that has only one secondary school operated by a public board, that the secondary school will continue to be operated by the public board despite the election to provide secondary eduction by a Roman Catholic school board having jurisdiction in the community, unless the public board decides otherwise.

Comment:

Section 136v allows a public school board, if it "decides", simply to opt out of offering secondary education in a community with only one secondary school. This offers no protection for families who are opposed to having their children educated in a religious atmosphere with which they disagree. Bill 30 should have guaranteed that a non-sectarian secondary school would remain in such communities.

The Emergency Resolution says this:

> 6) reaffirms our opposition to direct public funding for private and independent schools, and continues to oppose those recommendations of the Shapiro report which would critically weaken our public education system

Comment:

The Shapiro Commission Report may be wrong in many respects but it was undoubtedly right in agreeing with its own legal opinion which said: "The government must either terminate the funding of Roman Catholic separate secondary schools or, in the alternative, extend it to other parochial schools". It is hard to see how the Ontario Government would be able to refuse school funding to any religious group without violating the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. This highlights the total inconsistency between the above clause of the Resolution and NDP support for Bill 30. We will have a truly shattered and fragmented school system if Bill 30 is ruled constitutional by the Supreme Court of Canada.

(Found in 1986 - Edited by Gord Doctorow)

FOR AN ACTIVIST NDP!

FOR AN INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST CANADA!

Our Convention takes place as North American business interests and their deficit reduction hysteria promoted by the Liberals-Tories-Reform Party threaten the future of Canadian ~~women, men and children~~. There is a burning need for leadership to mobilize the victims of this policy against the right wing monopoly of federal politics in ~~English-speaking~~ Canada. The challenge before this Convention is to understand the roots of the problem and to develop a program and strategy to resist it.

The real danger to Canada does not come from the Québécois, who yearn in their francophone majority, to take control over their own destiny. It comes from the tentacles of U.S. trans-nationals which choke our economy, grasp our resources and mock our defences against their rapacious greed.

~~There was a time when there was a sense that Canada could resist the Americanization of our economy through deals and compromises. There was a sense that the other political parties would stand in the way of the disintegration of our social programs, the continentalization of our work week, the virulent attack on Native rights and the introduction of economic policies designed to increase profits by destroying jobs. Little is now left of these illusions.~~ The Liberals like the Tories before have bowed down before the U.S. ~~mogopolies~~ monopolies. Indeed, all previous governments have deepened the integration of our economy with U.S. capitalism, succumbing subserviently to the whims of their senior partners on Wall Street and in Washington. The Canadian powder monkeys of U.S. capitalism have proven so loyal that the United States Government does not seek nor need the formal loss of sovereignty by Canada with such sycophants to do their bidding.

Profit margins have become the primary criteria for all state decision-making. Canada's economic elite no longer pretends to maintain and defend what has made Canada unique and apart--its sense of solidarity, the commitment to a basic modicum of rights to health, education and security, the social values which reflect the cooperative spirit which ~~built the wealth of this country in the first instance~~ was the social victory of the CCF, NDP & labour/farm movements. On the contrary, the major thought-shaping institutions of our society, including the media and government, have unleashed a cacophony of deficit-cutting hysteria in the name of efficiency, realism, competition and free trade. This coordinated drive aims to take away from Canadians what they have strived for and achieved over decades. The result? Bank and industrial profits soar beyond reach while unprecedented cutbacks force millions of Canadians--youth and women especially--into the daily degradation of grinding poverty.

The irrationality of capitalism: product of under-consumption of the lower strata of society combined with the over-production of goods under the direction of the corporate elite. Crisis of glut, lack of consumption.

The working people of Canada daily experience the convulsions of an unstable Canadian capitalism descending into the arena of international trade wars as a satellite of the United States. The Canadian people are ~~They are~~ searching for answers, ~~They are looking~~ and for solutions. They are ready for an alternative. In part, these yearnings have contributed to the fracturing of the Conservative Party, the rejection of an NDP perceived as the left-wing of the Liberal Party and a growing disillusionment, even cynicism, with politics. Yet in large numbers Canadians remain far from defeated or forever committed to the right to whom some have turned because no one else was there. ~~Anglophone~~ Canadian workers still retain their sense of combativity, their desire to protect their unions, their willingness to fight to maintain their gains, their commitment to control their own destiny as a society and as a country.

The Left Caucus of the NDP believes that only the vision of an independent, socialist Canada can become the banner to rally the victims of state-enforced and created austerity, unemployment and loss of sovereignty. A bold vision of a Canada where Canadians share their productive wealth and financial resources for the betterment of humanity can counter the new, rapacious greed and consumerism engendered by a materialist, capitalist society. A clear program for an independent and socialist Canada can reassert the values that historically gave the NDP and the CCF before it its broad and popular support among the dispossessed and hopeless and which united the best of

each generation to fight for a cooperative society. ~~This program~~ involved a commitment to abolish capitalism, not to reform it or run it better than the others. It meant taking back our productive wealth and allowing the producers to collectively decide how to administer the economy through workers control

It is this same spirit of social solidarity, this same sense of unity that gives labour unions and working people everywhere a sense of purpose beyond their isolated existence that the NDP must now tap into in order to reassert its presence as a relevant and dynamic political force. This it can only do by being as proud of its commitment to ~~socialist democracy~~ democratic socialism as the capitalist parties are to capitalism.

But more than this is needed. The NDP, from top to bottom, root and branch, leadership, membership and rank and file must implant itself in the social movements, both existing and nascent, to counter the erosion of our social and economic gains. We must be an activist party that joins people in struggle day by day. New Democrats must be seen marching with the Native ~~militants~~ people and not ordering them to jail, embracing the right of the Québécois to freely determine their future in whatever form they choose rather than echoing the Canadian establishment and blurring our distinct image as we did during the Charlottetown Accord debates. New Democrats must open the doors of the Party wide to the women's movement instead of dismissing it as a "special interest group". We must embrace the environmental movement, the movements for sexual equality and the movements for human rights. We must become the prime advocate for their rightful demands. This means going back to our roots as a broad-based social movement whose goal is to empower working people and their allies. Our role in Parliament must be subservient to this strategy rather than the determinant of our politics. We must ditch once and for all the ~~temptation to allow~~ practice of allowing Parliamentary manoeuvres ~~and regional interests~~ to compromise our principles and create confusion among our supporters as was done in the past.

Only such a strategy can infuse the Party with a renewed and activist vigour and re-establish its now weakened base among the social forces that can build socialism in Canada. Ultimately, to transform Canada, the NDP must once again become the proud voice of the labour movement and show the same political loyalty to the working class that the capitalist parties show to their corporate masters.

To move beyond our present isolation, we endorse the movement-building direction of ~~A change in the leadership of our Party is a necessary step in moving beyond our present isolation.~~ Svend Robinson's campaign ~~most~~ closely approximates the positions which the Left Caucus advocates. But his election as leader is only the first step in the direction we must take.

The road to revitalize the NDP is clear--it means making our Party active 365 days a year under the distinct banner of a call for an independent, socialist Canada. Only such a Party can return the NDP to its historic role. Only such a Party can regain the credibility that we had when we were seen and understood to be committed to our principles and able to offer a clear alternative to the destructiveness of capitalism. Only such a Party can establish a socialist democracy as the immediate solution to the inhumanity and irrationality of capitalism.

The Left Caucus of the NDP seeks to facilitate communication and discussion among socialists within the NDP. We see the need for a broad, organized left within the Party to ensure that the leadership remains accountable to the democratically decided Convention resolutions and policies. ~~We believe that~~ coordinated efforts are needed to root the Party in the daily struggles of working people in order to mobilize them to build socialism in Canada.

For further information or to join the Left Caucus, write us at:
191 Montclair Avenue
Toronto, Ontario M5P 1R1

September 14, 1986
#2311-40 Homewoood Ave.
Toronto M4Y2K2-961-4554

Dear Anne

A week or so ago I was called by Greyhoudd bus to pick up an unidentified (unspecified)parcel from Ottwwa which I promptly did. An electric or prhaps an electronic typewriter. Probably you know that Murray had one in Ottawa under contract with a women student who was agreeable to typing up his articles. I guessed this was it as I seem to recall phoning the student that she could deliver it to you. At anyrate I phoned Lois and she thoughtlikewise and said she would pick it up from my place--you know that she and Jerry are the executors. I did not unwrap it but could see the make This caused confusion as it was not the same make as she khew Murray's was. In the meantime since my tape recorder told me that you had phoned I pnoed you in Ottawa. One time Claire ansered--then a couple of times I got now answer until one of the fellows in the house told me that you were on yor way to Toronto to pick up a car from Jeanette or Eleanonoklas since both of them have moved recently we have no phonenumbers, but I figuredthat you might phone my apartment. Since they had lots of space I gather Lois and Jerry put the typewriter in the car they drove to Ottawa--to learn that you had sent the typewriter to me personally as a gift I take it. Very nice but it is still plagued with mystery. However I will see you at the camp in a week or so and all will be clarified

I was up to Mirvish's art book store yesterday --came across and had time to examine and then buy fpr $70.20 a superb book-Diego River-a Retropective-prepared and published by the Founders Society Detroit Institute of Art in Association with W.W. Norton of New York. Of course the plates are too small for my liking but it is a book of serious scholarship--it will be the book on Rivera for a generation of so thus I spent the money gladly. I am now in the process of examining it--little thiggs wrong with it like the dust wrapper noting that the Rockefeller Center murals "were destroyed because of public outrage over their strongly pro-communist content." --not by the Rockefellers themselves - although we have to concede that it was somewhat of a provocation. Some excellent essays several of which--Jeff will enjoy-in particular Rivera and the concept of Proletarian Art by Azula and the influcne of Rivera on the Art of the US by O'Connor, etc. The article on the New Workers School panls contains some interesting info --fpr instance there ware two small panels that may still be or will appear on the market-,89 X .81 meters--one offered for sale by Sothebey's only last year 6/11/85 and another at the time of publication "unlocated" but which publication will probably locate. We will have to get the Ottawa Gallery to purchase it --what ihfluence hae we--or take up a cokkection and buy it ourselves - It would also be very good if every art gallery library could be convinced to buy either a VHS or Beta video cassette from the Detroit Gallery for $20-- Both the book and cassettes would shale up some of those dead-ended aand nihilist Cdn artistas diplayed in Ottawa last month

see you are the camp

best regards

Ross

Left Caucus newsletter

Published by the Steering Committe of the
ONDP Left Caucus
Station G., Box 92
1075 Queen St. E.
Toronto M4M 1H0

November, 1986
Vol. 1, No. 4

CAMPAIGN FOR ACTIVIST PARTY AND ONDP LEFT CAUCUS UNITE

Every fall the Ontario NDP Left Caucus meets to plan its next year's activities. This year is the most important yet - it will be a celebration! What with the fruitful collaboration of the forces attracted to the Campaign for an Activist Party and the Left Caucus at the provincial convention, their respective steering committees have been meeting both separately and together.

This year's Nov. 29 conference will see them make a joint recommendation that we join our forces in order to play a more effective continuing role in the NDP and in the radicalization generally. Some of the problems will be discussed at the coming conference and a new leadership will be elected. And so we face the coming year in comraderie and confidence in our cause.

Lois Bedard, High Park-Swansea

PROTEST THE IMPRISONMENT OF NEWFOUNDLAND UNION LEADER

An across-Canada campaign in solidarity with Fraser March, the Newfoundland trade union leader who was recently sentenced to four months in jail for leading an illegal strike, should be initiated by the Canadian Labour Congress.

Over the past several months, March led the Newfoundland Association of Public Employees in protest and strike actions to eliminate discrepancies of up to 33% between the wage levels of public service workers performing essentially the same jobs. The struggle was in defiance of and aimed at smashing Bill 59, an ammendment to the Public Service collective agreement. It declared 49% of the union's members are to be considered "essential service workers" and thereby denied the right to strike. It assigned this devisive task as to who was to be included in the 49%, to the union.

In the course of the struggle, March, Newfoundland NDP Leader Peter Fenwick, CLC executive member John Fryer, and senior union negotiators Hank MacKeil and Tom Hanlon were all arrested. March was sentenced to jail for four months and the union was fined $110,000. The NDP has played a conspicuous role in the strike, one worker saying of provincial NDP leader Fenwick: "He's a hero on the picket line".

Bill Clinton, Scarborough-Agincourt

TORIES PREPARING THE BURIAL OF THE CANADIAN FAMILY FARM

The death knell of the "family farm" though "even the most rabid free enterpriser in Progressive Conservative ranks knows better than to threaten this sacred cow in public," is now being sounded, according to Saskatchewan Commonwealth Editor Ron Thompson. Slowly and quietly a long-range farm policy has been emerging from the back rooms of the federal and provincial PCs - a policy that spells the death of the family farm in favour of the large scale corporate agri-business and even "franchise farming".

Thousands of farmers have been forced off the land and many thousands more are threatened. The Farm Credit Corporation reports one in five (about 39,000) who haven't already left is in serious financial difficulty. Of these, 6,000 are considered doomed. What relief is being offered is short term only - a brief pause in the journey from family farm to corporate shareholder.

From a capitalist prespective it is consistent to weed out the small "uneconomic" units and infact the choice was made years earlier. Last year Tory leader Erik Neilsen's task force report on federal programs called Canadian agriculture out of step with reality, tending to be survival oriented "rather than future oriented toward market growth."

This spring's budget offered a new $50 million transition program for farmers driven off the land. This program will offer former farmers counselling, retraining, relocation grants and possible financial help to farmers not even threatened with foreclosure but who feel they want out. The next step scheduled is the end of the moratorium on foreclosures.

Boyd Robertson, provincial Chamber of Commerce and Royal Bank chief, argues subsidies only prop incefficient producers who shouldn't be in the game. The Royal's vice-president of agriculture services, Doug McCrorie, accepts the need for some short term assistance, so long as governments realize many farmers

(continued overleaf)

CELEBRATING THE UNIFICATION OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR AN ACTIVIST PARTY (CAP) AND THE ONDP LEFT CAUCUS

Conference on strengthening the left in the Ont. NDP and to plan its participation in the March '87 Montreal federal convention.

Saturday, Nov. 29 9 am to 4:30 pm
Toronto Board of Education (cafeteria,
155 College St., Toronto

December 30, 1986

Harry Kopyto
194 Pinewood Avenue
Toronto, Ontario
work: 361-1404
home: 656-6709

Dear Fellow New Democrat:

On Tuesday, January 6th, I will be placing my name in nomination as our party's candidate for the riding of St. George-St. David in the coming provincial election. I am looking forward to meeting you at this crucial meeting and discussing your ideas as to how we can most effectively advance our party and take advantage of every opening in this new riding to make an NDP victory a real possibility.

While I am not now a member of St. George-St. David, I presently reside in the Oakwood riding, and have been an activist and member of the party in the Toronto area since the party was founded in 1961. I have attended almost every convention of the party, both federal and provincial, since then and have run as an official candidate twice in Board of Education elections and have served on riding positions for most of those years.

At the same time, I have had the opportunity, in my work as a lawyer, which provides me and my family with a living, to also fight in the Courts for the rights of working people.

Though I may be a stranger to the riding association itself, I am not a stranger to the struggles of those who reside in it. For fifteen years, I have fought for the human and civil rights of women, blacks, handicapped people, victims of police brutality, prisoners and other minorities. As an example of my involvement and interest in the riding, I currently represent over 100 public housing tenants at 200 Wellesley Street East in the largest rent rebate suit ever launched. I represented John Damien, the first gay person in Canada to sue for discrimination on grounds of sexual orientation.

Many of you will know that I am now in a major legal and political fight with Liberal MP Ian Scott of the defunct seat of St. David, who is now attempting to upstage Tory MPP Susan Fish of the defunct seat of St. George by trying to present himself as the sitting member of the new riding, St. George-St. David, which will only appear on the lists for the first time this upcoming election.

Scott, in his capacity as the Liberal government's Attorney General, has cited me for "scandalizing the court" for my statement in the course of a press interview that the courts "are warped in favour of protecting the police." My statement followed the court's dismissal of a legal suit initiated by a St. George member on the grounds that the RCMP in its campaign of dirty tricks against persons and organizations of dissident opinion in the 70's was only carrying out orders. This charge has aroused widespread protest from across the country, including the editors of all three Toronto dailies.

I have been barred by a court decision, now under appeal, from practicing in Ontario's courts until I apologize. This outrageous judgment, resulting from Mr. Scott's decision to prosecute me, has proven to be one of his most unpopular political acts.

If I am chosen by the January 6 meeting to be the official St. George-St. David NDP candidate, my campaign will be waged on the full program of the party against the escalating and perilous arms drive and the ominous plant closures resulting in mounting unemployment.

My campaign will be against both the Tory government in Ottawa and the Liberals in Toronto. It will inevitably be given a high profile as a human and civil rights contest with the Liberal party's Attorney General Ian Scott and is certain to be the focus of considerable attention. It could become the most exciting and significant campaign in the entire election, making deep inroads into both Liberal and Tory support and laying a wide and firm base under the St. George-St. David party. This is why I urge you to come to the nomination meeting on Tuesday, January 6, 7:30 p.m. at 519 Church Street.

In solidarity,

Harry Kopyto

Harry Kopyto

Left Caucus newsletter

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Vol.2, No. 1

CHALLENGE OF THE SHORTER WORK WEEK

Ross Dowson
St. George

The delegates to the 1985 Ottawa convention turned back the Federal Council's key economic policy resolution on technological change. That resolution failed to even aention the shorter work week as a central aeans of preventing layoffs and providing jobs. They also voted to aaend it in accordance with a Left Caucus referral aotion.

In preparing resolutions for this coaing Montreal convention, if you looked up F.7.5 (pages 145-6-7) in the Resolutions Reference Book, you would be disappointed at the failure of the aaended version to reflect the stiaulating convention debate. The clause "shorter work week" is aerely inserted in one of the sentences - it is not at all developed or presented as a central aeans of preventing the layoffs, the shutdowns and aassive uneaployaent that now plagues us.

The true spirit of that debate was taken up by a group of workers at the Scarborough GM plant on January 10. About 1,000 aeabers of CAW Local 303 - a coalpete shift at the Eglinton Ave. plant were laid off last fall. Yet the company has asked those kept on to not only work their regular shift but to work overtiae on Saturdays. Their inforaation picket protested that the laid off shift be brought back; that the governaent aake coapulsory overtiae illegal, etc. The chairaan of the Local told the press he "couldn't work overtiae while others were on the streets."

continued on page 2

PROPOSALS ON LEFT CAUCUS FORUMS

Dorise Bolt
Eglinton

At its Deceaber aeeting, the Left Caucus Executive decided to hold public forums in conjunction with its regular aeetings to discuss aajor issues such as affordable housing, universal day care, equal pay for work of equal value, pornography, full eaployaent, contracting out, and disaraaaent. An inforaed aeabership is one which can effect change both at the Party level and in their ridings.

The March Federal Convention in Montreal will see a aajor debate on the question of language rights in the Province of Quebec. This was recently put forward in a resolution froa the Quebec wing of our Party. The Left Caucus has put together a forua to be held at the end of February to discuss this and other issues of concern to our Quebec brothers and sisters. Details of this forua are contained in this aewsletter. We look forward to your participation and would welcoae any suggestions you aay have for future forums.

QUEBEC NDP ON QUEBEC

How should the NDP respond to the national question in Quebec as it begins to sink its roots deeper and wider into the political culture of the Quebecois working class? This challenging question promises to be a major focus of discussion at the upcoming NDP federal convention. This issue was deliberated at the November 29, 1986 aeeting of the Left Caucus held in Toronto. A position paper was read by Quebec NDP Vice-President, Claire Brassard. This document is a statement of the position held by the Quebec NDP. We present a condensed version of the document below.(Editors)

Claire Brassard
Quebec NDP

For several aonths, Bourassa's Liberal governaent has endeavored to reopen constitutional negotiations with the stated objective of causing Quebec to becoae party to the 1982 Constitutional Agreeaent in exchange for concessions froa the federal governaent and the governaents of the other provinces.

Quebec is not responsible for the constitutional situation we experience today. The constitutional agreeaents of 1982 were the result of strong ara tactics against Quebec... Those agreeaents were aade in the back rooas and in the absence of Quebec. They are the expression of an unacceptable coercion against the people of Quebec.

Like a aajority of organizations, representative of the Quebec coaaunity, the Quebec NDP repeats that it does not recognize the legitiaacy of the 1982 constitutional agreeaents which were iaposed on the people of Quebec.

...Let us not forget that (the previous Parti Quebecois) governaent will go down in history as the one under which the rights of Quebeckers will have been shrunk the aost. We cannot forget that this disaster was also a consequence of the irresponsible strategy of this governaent which got involved in power; by short-circuiting the daaocratic processes which should have caused it first to subait its objectives to a thorough public debate and at the very least to seek approval froa the Quebec National Assebly; by skipping the essential step of a genuine aobilization of the people behind its objectives.

continued on page 2

R. Dowson- #2311
$0 Homewood Ave
Toronto, M4Y2K2
April 4, 1987

International Viewpoint
2 Rue Riachard Lenoir
93108, Montreuil
France

Dear Comrades;

(A) Enclosed please find our bank money order for a one year airmail subsciption to go to

John Glenn
21 Strathcona
Brantford, Ont M3S1T4
Canada

Would you please start with issue number 116.
On March 16 I sent you a BMO for U.S. $ 188 to cover four subs airmail to start with issue Number 116. One of the four has since had a change of address; Diane Meaghan from Unionville L3R 3L7 to

Diane M
14 Tarbert Road
Willowdale M4M 2Y2
Canada

I am enclosing with the BMO a clipping from April 1 issue of the Toronoto Globe and Mail which tries to emulate Le-Monde-NYT. The correspondent Walkom's article is the first item I have come across dealing with the assault on the Japanese railway workers

#######

A few words on a paragraph on Canada in the Around the World Column page 26 issue No. 115. The Canadian Labor Congress-by all counts the major labor body which endorses the New Democratic Party as Canada's labor party has been camaogning for about a year now in opposition to the latest gambit of the Ottawa government - FREE TRADE with the USA. Ottawa's call for free trade with the US would appear ludicrous in view of the fact that the Cdn-US economies are very highly integrated already- but the Canadian economy is stagnating and Ottawa is projecting Free Tradeais the way out its dillemma. Ottawa has cajolled Washington into opening up negotiations but no one knows what is involved concretely. The Labor Congress and the NDP has responded- No to Free Trade and presents the governments line as threatening to sell out "Canada" interests to the U.S. Contrary to the IV note no one iscalling for protectionism becauseof the highly integrated nature of the Canada-US economy. The deep-rooted anti-US imperialist sentiment in Canada which reached a high point in opposition to Canadian compplicity in the US assault on the Mietnamese has been revived in what your author calls the ultra-nationalist Council of Canadians. The Ontario Liberal party government, which will sweep this key industrialized province in the coming election and decimate the NDP opposes the Ottawa governments call for freetrade . Where the Cdn bourgeoisie in so far as there is a Canadian beourgroisie as distinct from the US stand in all this-with the Ottawa government for free trade(Tories) and the Ontario government(Toronto) Liberals against free trade is,contrary to the IV article,difficulat to say. To talk of Inter-imperialist rivalry between Canada and the US is absurd

When RobertWHite, head of the Canadian UAW pulled the Cdn membership out of the UAW the Cdn RWL denounced this as splitting the ranks of the North American working class.But this action was but an episode in the struggle for Cdn trade union autonomy and has been followed several other declarations of independence. The latest is entire Eastern Cdn section of the UFCW (Hormel) joining the Canadian Autoworkers. Last week an important section of the trade union bureaucracy declared war on White.

The sympathizing and official section of the FI Will have to find a way to [illegible] the difficulties they are in--perhaps open up a discussion ? among all who consider themselves to be Trotskyists.

Some call this naturalism

Best regards

R. Dowson

Manitoba New Democrat
656 Broadway
Winnepeg R3E 0X3
Sub $10

Ross Dowson #2311
40 Homewood Ave.,
Toronto M4Y 2K2, CANADA

(Attached to: April 4, 1989) 1987

Bulletin IDOM
P.O. Box 1317
New York, N.Y., 10009., U.S.A.

Dear Comrades;

Enclosed you will find a B.M.O. for the US equivalent of 100 Cdn dollars. This is to go to the covering of a one year subscription to the bulletin to go to

Arthur Gray, #912
40 Homewood Ave.,
Toronto, M4Y 2k2, CANADA. //THE REMAINDER TO GO AS A DONATION TO THE PUBLICATION FUND. Would you please send a receipt to go to Gray.

Some months back when I received the copy of the October issue of the Bulletin I decided that I must write you a note for publication protesting the publication of the article on page 8 titled Socialist International Caves in on Central America. This is the first time since then that I have found time to take upt this matter so a letter to the editor does not seem practical. However I feel that I should send you some comments for circulateio to the editors .

Granted that there is nothing impossible for in dividual parties of the Second International of for its affilates in congress to do I was truly suprised to read that the delegates caved in not only on Salvador but on Nicaragua too hence your headlined conclusion-on the fight for self-determination in Central America.

The main reason for my suprise was the fact that here in Canada the trade union endorsed New Democratic Party, the Canadian affiliate to the Seond International, has up until now at leaset taken a very strong position in support of the Nicaraguan revolution and the Sandinista National Liberation Front.
I happened to be a delegate from my riding association to the 1985 conventionehold in Ottawa . There were two truly noteble events at that convention-1) the tumultuous resaponse of thedelegates to the apperanxe and to the addresses of the top [illegible] Nicaraguan leaders who appeared before them. It was both tumultuous and unanimous and had to be bought to an end to get on with the great deal of business --including the re-affimation of the party's position on withdrawla from both NATO and NORAD which the leadership was desparatly trying yo modify.

Bresee's article was so much at variance with what I knoow of the NDP's policy that I read the article much closer than usual and tried to check out what the NDP representatives actually did say there. There was nothing in the bourgeois dailies which one would have antipipatedcwould rub their hands in glee at the party'sleadership's betrayal of the Ottawa delegates. But the paper of the Manitoba NDP wnere the party is in office carried what would appear to be thre verbattim record of NDP leader Broadbent's address to the Lima Conference. Some parts of the speech are poor but the central line is crystall clear and in the name of the Second International Broadbent closes -"We will srand united with Latin American in their insistance on shaping their own destiny"

very bad

For your information the Tory government in Ottawa has continued to defy U.S. pressure to cut off aid that it has been sending to Nicragua (such as itis) The former Canadian Primeminister Trudeau recently made an incisivd condemnation of US policy in Cemtra l America .

Knwoing the above it is hard to understand the vindictive, "aswe told you all along" tome of the Brasse article, its lack of quotes--- Is the Miami Herald an authority in the eyes of the Bulletin. One of the realities of today is that many of the parties of the Second International are mass parties and are responding to verying degrees to the world-wide anti-US imerpialist sentiments that I know you are inspired by and want to familiarize the US working class with. The US left is not alone and should seek to inspire the American workers with such developments as the labor party here in Canada along with the demonstrative separation of the Cenadian union movement from the US so-called international leadership

Now with the scandal of Contragate we will no doubt see the streanthening of those opposing US policy in Central America within the parties of the Second Interational and elsewhere

with socialist greetings

Ross Dowson

NB

North American free trade--Gary Teeple Page 81- OUR GENERATION Spring Summer- 87

free trade is an historic question since confederation -- Canada/US relations

Capital has outgrown the nation-state- the market is international, not national, and is dominate in every sector by transnational corporations(in general-RD) but Canada is a U.S. dependency. "No industrial country is as dependent on any other country as is Canada on the U.S."

"Culture in modern society has none of the anthropological sense of emanating from the interxxxxaction of the people themselves. Today everyaspect of culture id dominated by commodity production in ¾- i.e. it is not accurate to say that most of it is produced as as a commodity xxxxfpxxfor ppurposes of profit. Culture is now the business of culture and as such is subject to the demands of capital." When history finally poses its questions clearly the answers are already given. This "debate" over free trade is the last. It concerns the stage next to an all but complete assimilation with the US or in braoder terms, the end of the era of the nation state founded on national capital.

economic penetration cultural and political integration.

North American Free Trade – Gary Teeple – p 81 – Our Generation / Spring Summer / 87

Free Trade A historic question since Confed – Canada US Relations

Capital has outgrown the nation State – the market is intl not national and dominated in every sector by transnational Corporations (in General RD) – but Canada a US dependency

"No industrial country is as dependent on any one other country as in Canada on the US"

"Culture in modern society has none of the anthropological sense of emanating from the interaction of the people themselves Today every aspect of culture is dominated by commodity production, i.e. – it is not accurate to say that most of it is produced as a commodity for purposes of profit. Culture is now the business of culture and as such is subject to the demands of capital"

"When history finally poses its questions clearly the answers are already given. This 'debate' over free trade is the last. It concerns the stage next to an all but complete assimilation with the US or in broader terms, the end of the era of the nation state founded on national capital".

economic penetration
cultural + political integration

NB

Left Caucus newsletter

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STOP CLOSURES SAVE OUR PLANTS

By Ross Dowson
St. George - St. David NDP

While Statistics Canada records unemployment to be 9.3 percent, the lowest level in five years, it remains the most threatening problem confronting workers -- resulting in a profound malaise from coast to coast.

In Newfoundland, it stands at 26.4% -- resulting in a population growth in that period of only 668 in a total of 568,349, due to its populating other parts of the country with its 18- and 19-year-old internal refugees.

While the job situation is most favorable in Ontario, it is the area of greatest unease. Threatened by a plague of layoffs -- both temporary and long term --

Continued on page 2

DEFENCE DEBATED AT LEFT FORUMS

By Gord Doctorow
Oriole NDP

This has been an auspicious year for Left Caucus forums. At the end of February, a forum under the joint sponsorship of Left Caucus and the Metro Toronto Labor Council, was held with Jean-Paul Harney speaking on Quebec and the constitutional question to an audience of some 80 people. Harney was emphatic about the exclusive right of the people to decide constitutional arrangements. He denounced the idea that elected politicians, no matter what political stripe, should exercise the right to decide such matters. He reiterated many of the themes presented in the Quebec NDP discussion paper published (in condensed form) in the last issue of the Newsletter. Only the people of Quebec through a constituent assembly and referendum can properly decide their constitutional fate from a

Continued on page 3

ACCORD ENDING: NDP MUST GO LEFT

By Harry Kopyto
Oakwood

While federally the NDP is showing dramatic possibilities of challenging the establishment parties on clear programmatic lines, its performance in Ontario threatens a sorry contrast.

Though the Tories remain in a disunited and demoralized state, still licking their wounds after being unceremoniously turfed out of power in an unexpected debacle, the Liberals, who to everyone's surprise, won the election, appear to be consolidating themselves as a dynamic and potent reform force.

The present high-ranking status of the Liberal Party is, to a large extent, the product of the NDP's commitment to the Accord; that is, to ONDP leader Bob Rae's effort to make minority government work in Ontario. The Accord not only compromised our party's image as an independent political force, but gave the Liberals the progressive veneer which has enabled them to consolidate popular support and emerge as a dynamic force on the political scene.

The Liberals have done the minimum needed to retain their credibility by implementing major portions of the Accord, even taking a turn to the left to gut the NDP of some of its support, though not going beyond the limits of their own program of making capitalism work. The NDP, in turn, has defused any possibility of emerging as an alternative against the Liberal Party as they have done federally.

By bolstering the program of the Accord as its sole or major contribution to Ontario politics, the Rae parliamentary caucus has gravely undercut the relevance of the NDP. The Liberal Party's program, which the Accord basically represents, has become our leadership's be-all and end-all. The ultimate absurdity of this turn to respectability and to the right has been demoralization of our rank-and-file, open desertion of caucus members to the Liberal party and the revelation that important and influential leaders within the party want it to become integrated

Continued on page 6

(Toronto Star) (Note by R. Dowson) (1987)

Back page of the front section of Saturday edition of largest circulation daily in Canada
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July 4/87

Activist loses appeal over RCMP forgery

By Alfred Holden Toronto Star

A seven-year legal battle by civil rights lawyer Harry Kopyto and his long-time client, leftist activist Ross Dowson, has ended in their defeat in the Supreme Court of Ontario.

Mr. Justice Allan Austin yesterday upheld an earlier ruling dismissing Dowson's damage claim against two Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers involved in a dirty tricks campaign against the League for Socialist Action.

While the Mounties' wrongdoing was acknowledged by both sides, there is no evidence it was linked to Dowson being pushed out of his job as head of the left-wing organization, Austin ruled.

Following orders

Such a claim had been the basis for a lawsuit seeking $3,000 damages from RCMP officers.

"It is my view that there is no evidence actually substantiating any causal connection between the activities of the police and the resignation of the plaintiff," Austin said. "Any connection between the two is speculative."

'Black day': Harry Kopyto, left, says the RCMP sabotaged the job of his client, Ross Dowson.

Kopyto argued — in the appeal of a trial ending in 1985 — making the officers pay damages would establish that police are equal to other citizens before the law.

At the original trial a judge dismissed the suit, saying the officers were only acting under orders from their superiors, and could not be assessed for damages.

Kopyto's outspoken criticism of Judge Marvin Zuker's decision in that case resulted in his being charged with contempt, after his remarks — including one in which he said the police and courts "stick together like Krazy Glue" — were reported in the Toronto Globe and Mail.

Kopyto said in an interview yesterday, "I don't want to get in trouble again" by making strongly worded comments.

But, calling the ruling "extremely disappointing," he said the decision reflects the courts' continued "institutional bias" in favor of police.

Forged letters

"It is a big step backwards, a black day for human rights in Canada," Kopyto told reporters outside Osgoode Hall, where the case was heard.

"We're trying to establish police are subject to the same laws as everybody else, and are not immune from being held accountable for criminal acts because they are carrying out orders," Kopyto said.

The civil suit was the latest of several legal routes attempted by Dowson since 1980, when the McDonald Commission into RCMP wrongdoing revealed the subversive police action against the league.

It was disclosed at the commission's enquiry that, in 1972, two officers had forged signatures on letters distributed to league members alleging various league officers were unstable.

They were designed to disrupt the league, which they succeeded in doing, Kopyto told Austin yesterday, and Dowson was forced to resign.

Dowson, now 69, told The Star after attending yesterday's hearing the decision "startled" him because it did not directly address any of the legal arguments Kopyto made.

Kopyto said he will consult with his client on a further appeal.

NG HERE!

E SUBWAY

SUBWAY (west of Yonge) - Get off at the ISLINGTON stop.

Walk inside to the ISLINGTON BUS (NORTH)

Get off at Dundas. Cross the intersection of Dundas and Islington to the S.W. corner

RE HERE!

NG

on the lot belonging to the Montgomery Tavern

e N.W. corner of Dundas and Montgomery.

omery Road is the first street east of

gton. Walk across the lights at Dundas and

gton and

RE HERE!

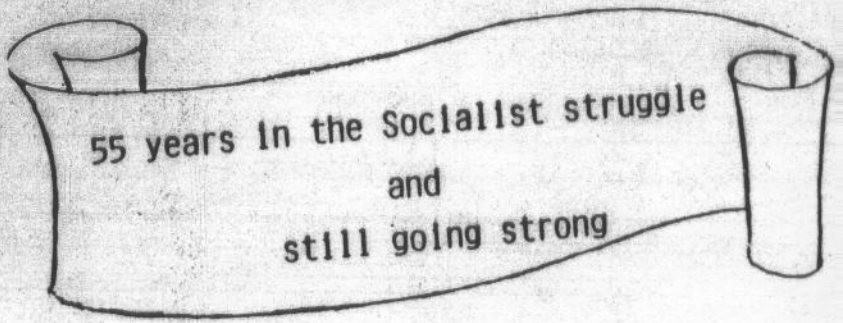
sks why you are in the building?

Celebration Party in the Hospitality Room - Lois Bedard, #2108.

s downstairs in the Hospitality Room.

CELEBRATE

ROSS DOWSON'S 70TH BIRTHDAY



DATE: SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1987

TIME: 8:00 P.M. - ONWARDS

PLACE: BARCLAY TERRACE HOSPITALITY ROOM
1300-1320 ISLINGTON AVE. (SEE MAP)

CONTRIBUTION: $10. PER PERSON, AT DOOR

R.S.V.P. 233-6132 CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

PROGRAMME

HOSPITALITY ROOM

8:00 - 9:15 CHATTING, SOCIALIZING AND DANCING

PARTY GROUPING

9:15 - This Party and the FORWARD Group

9:20 - The Early Years of the Left

9:25 - FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA

9:30 - Ross as a Comrade

9:50 - Ross's Response

10:00 Buffett

10:00 - 1:00 Chatting, Socializing, Dancing

A N D / O R

AUDIO - VISUAL ROOM

8:00 - REMINISCING WITH ROSS IN THE TROTSKYIST GROUP

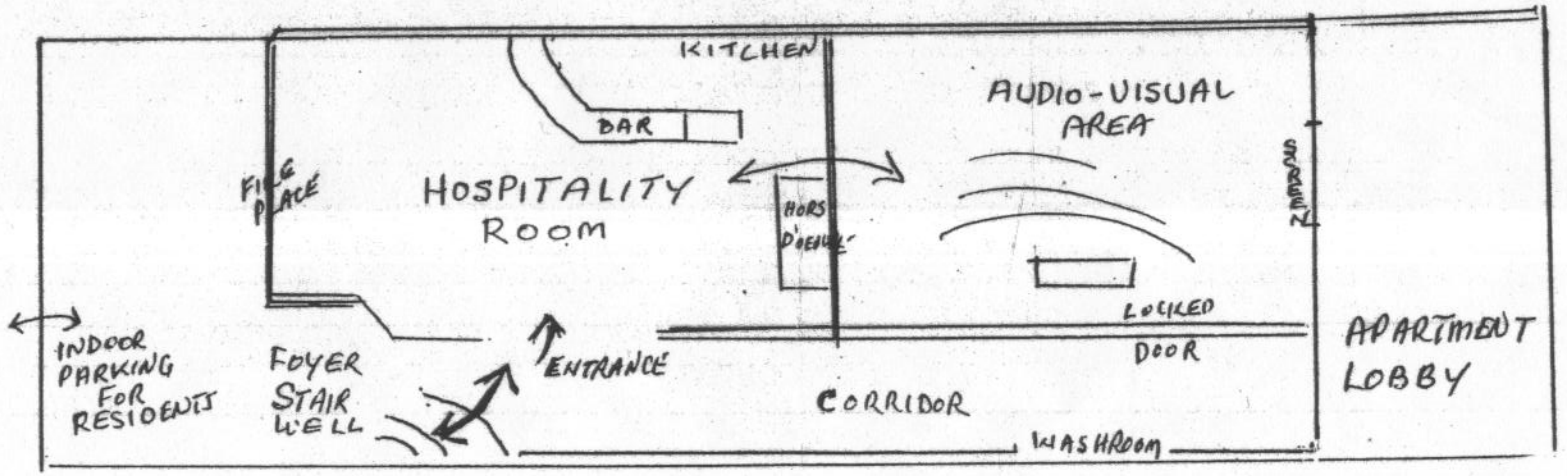
- Prior to World War II
  Workers' Party
  Underground Press - The Grand Gesture
  Ross in the Canadian Army

8:15 - Post War II King St. Headquarters
  Public Press - Workers' VANGUARD
  Labour - LABOUR CHALLENGE
  C.C.F. - New Party - New Democrats
  Youth Movement - New Democratic Youth

8:30 - Youth Radicalization
  Cecil Street Youth -
  Queen St. Centre - Quebec
  Poundmaker - Women
  Morgentaler Defence Committee

CUBA
Vietnam

8:45 - The Seventies and Eighties
  N.D.P. and The Left Caucus
  Catholic School Funding
  Out of N.A.T.O./N.O.R.A.D.



SRDF — Found in 1987

Dowson's 6 year-long efforts to get a hearing, to defend himself against the charge of subversion and the actions taken against him and the LSA on the ~~grounds~~ assumption ~~that~~ of the truth of that charge has been blocked at every turn ------from the Toronto Small Claims Court through both the provincial and federal courts right up to the Supreme Court of Canada

In December 1977 Dowson launched a $500,000 slander suit against the RCMP (the Queen) for their statement before the Ontario Legislature and in a release to the press in response to enquiries by then NDP leader Stephen Lewis as to whether the NDP has been subject to RCMP ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~investigation In their statement the RCMP admitted to having investigated the NDP, justifying it on the grounds that the party's left-wing Waffle had invited LSAer and unnamed ex-Communists to join the party. The latter were defined as subversive-tending "to promote changes brought on by violent abd undemocratic means..."
This slander suit was dismissed on the grounds that the statments by the RCMP are privileged, causing Dowson to protest that the RCMP can label any person or organization subversive and subject them to violations of their civil rights with impunity

On April 25/1980, following RCMP admissions before the Royal Commission headed by Justice Krever, Dowson swore out charges against two top RCMP officers directing Operation Checkmate. After a series of blockages of the suit Attorney-General Roy McMurtry issued a stay of proceedings. McMurtry's stay of proeccedings was upheld by the Spreme Court of Ontario.
Dowson appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada which after hearing the appeal on June 9, 1983 reserved juddgement. It should be handed down anyday now.
Dowson initiated a suit in the Small Claims Court in Toronto against two RCMPers on May 24 1983. The RCMP attempted to block the suit before its going to trial. On August 11, 1983 Judge Zuker found in Dowson's favor. The RCMP immediately announced its decision to appeal Judge Zuker's decision before the Supreme Court of Ontario — Blocked again

On October 14 - The Supreme Court unanimously ruled that the Ontario Attorney General cannot block Dowson + Howard Buchbinder from proceeding to lay charges against the RCMP - + overturned a ruling of the Ontario Court of appeal. Judge Allen will hear the charges on Tues Oct 25

PRESS RELEASE (November 5, 1987 -- Ottawa)

An appeal calling on the Soviet government to rehabilitate immediately all victims of the Moscow Trials of 1936-1938 was submitted to the Soviet ambassador Alexey Rodionov to Canada today at the embassy's reception celebrating the 70th anniversary of the 1917 October Revolution.

The international appeal, which is drawing growing support across the globe, was submitted on behalf of the 33 noteworthy Canadians who have added their names to the appeal to date.

Among the Canadian signatories are Michael Cassidy, MP and former leader of the Ontario New Democratic Party; Cy Gonick, economist and editor, Canadian Dimension; G.S. Kealey, editor, Labour/Travail; Dimitri Roussopoulos, editor, Our Generation; Rick Salutin, playwright, journalist, and an editor of This Magazine; and two eminent lawyers, Harry Kopyto and Clayton Ruby, and the well-known feminists [redacted], Varda Burstyn and Judy Rebick.

According to Ross Dowson and Zane Boyd, who presented the appeal to the ambassador, to be forwarded to Soviet leader Gorbachev, "The signers of the appeal welcome the new period of 'glasnost' which the Soviet government under Mikhail Gorbachev has initiated. Surely, however, for there truly to be glasnost in the present and in future, there must be glasnost toward the past," they said.

Elaborating on the significance of this appeal, Dowson and Boyd pointed out: "This matter does not concern the Soviet people alone. The international socialist movement -- in fact, the very name and cause of socialism itself -- suffered enormously and still suffers the dire effects of the events of the 1930s in the USSR.

"The 70th anniversary of the Revolution is certainly a most fitting occasion for the Soviet government to undertake the rehabilitation of all victims of the trials. The accused all played leading roles in the Revolution and/or were prominent figures in the early years of the Soviet government.

"It is high time to speak the truth about the past -- fully, honestly, openly. The very future of socialism in the USSR and, indeed, throughout the world is at stake."

(For further information, call 416-961-4554.)

CLEAR THE NAMES OF THE ACCUSED IN THE MOSCOW TRIALS

IT IS now over fifty years since the infamous Moscow Show Trials. It is astounding that at a time when the Soviet government is at pains to emphasise its concern with 'human rights' and proclaims the need for 'glasnost' — 'openness' — the accused in these trials, with a few exceptions, are still considered guilty of being paid agents of Nazism, and other crimes.

Among these men were numbered several who played outstanding roles in the Russian Revolution of 1917. The reputations of founders of the Soviet state like Zinoviev, Radek, Trotsky and Bukharin were besmirched or expunged from the history books. Today, no-one doubts that the 'confessions' at the trials — the sole basis for the prosecution — were utterly false. Seven defendants in the third trial, Krestinsky and others, have been both judicially rehabilitated and politically exonerated. So have the military leaders, Tukhachevsky and others, whose military trial in 1937, was held in secret. But the admittedly false evidence against these men was inseparable from the charges against all the other accused.

None of the accused, of course, is alive today. Many were executed immediately after their trials. Others died in prison or camps. Leon Trotsky, the chief accused in all three of the trials, was murdered in exile in 1940. However, families of some of the defendants are still living in the Soviet Union. Some had also suffered imprisonment and exile. It is worth recalling that a review of all these cases was promised by Khrushchev, but this promise was broken.

We the undersigned therefore call on the Soviet government to re-examine the cases against all these victims of the perversion of Soviet justice, as took place with Krestinsky. We are confident that all those accused in the Trials of 1936-1938 will be shown to have been innocent. They should immediately be rehabilitated, their honour restored, their families compensated and their graves marked.

CANADIAN SIGNATORIES TO DATE:

Carl Birchard, Hans Blumenfeld, John Boyd, Ruth Bullock, Varda Burstyn
Michael Cassidy, MP, Gordon Doctorow, Ross Dowson, Marv Gandall, Cy Gonick
Gerry Hunnius, G.S. Kealey, Harry Kopyto, George Martell, David McNally, Joe Meslin
Vernel Olson, Leo Panitch, Norman Penner, Jim Pringle, Judy Rebick, Satu Repo
Wayne Roberts, Lukin Robinson, Dimitri Roussopoulos, Clayton Ruby, Rick Salutin
Chris Schenk, William Spira, Donald Swartz, Jerry Szach, Jesse Vorst, Reg Whitaker

FROM A GROWING LIST OF INTERNATIONAL SIGNATORIES:

Tariq Ali/Britain/Pakistan
Perry Anderson/Britain
Sidney Bidwell, MP/Britain
Wolf Bierman/E. Germany
Robin Blackburn/Britain
Hugo Blanco/Peru
Peter Brandt/W. Germany
Fenner Brockway/Britain
Efraim Calvo, MP/Bexico
Vlady Chibalchich/USSR/Mexico
Noam Chomsky/USA
Terry Davis, MP/Britain
Tamara Deutscher/Britain
Jose-Luis Diaz-Moll, MP/Mexico
Z. Djiudjic/Yugoslavia
Ernst Federn/Austria
Peter Fryer/Britain
Dan Gallin/USA
Adolfo Gilly/Mexico
Mildred Gordon, MP/Britain
Reg Groves/Britain
Virgiliao Guimaraes, MP/Brazil
G. Gursoy/Turkey
Jiri Hayek/Czechoslovakia
Eric Heffer, MP/Britain
Rosario Ibarra, MP/Mexico
Petra Kelly, MP/W. Germany
Tom Kemp/Britain
Leo Kofler/W. Germany
Lev Kopelev/USSR
Alain Krivine/France
Joanne Landy/USA
Ken Livingstone/Britain
Peter Lonkhorst, MP/Holland
Michael Lowy/France/Brazil
Eddie Loyden, MP/Britain
Oliver MacDonald/Britain
Harry Magdoff/USA
Livio Maitan/Italy
Ernest Mandel/Belgium
Seguro Melendez/Venezuela
Ian Mikardo, MP Britain
Marguerito Montes/Mexico
Hugo Moscoso/Bolivia
Stan Newens, MEP/Britain
Ricardo Pascoe, MP/Mexico
Brian Pearce/Britain
Pedro Penalosa, MP/Mexico
Rosalia Peredo, MP/Mexico
Gert Petersen, MP/Denmark
Raul Pont, MP/Brazil
Michel Raptis/Greece
Frank Ridley/Britain
J. Sabata/Czechoslovakia
Erik Solheim/Norway
Lotfallah Soliman/Egypt
S. Stojanovic/Yugoslavia
Paul Sweezy/USA
Bala Tampoe/Sri Lanka
Peter Uhl/Czechoslovakia
J. Ulburghs, MP, MEP/Belgium
Frank Vandenbroecke, MP/Belgium
Andree Van Es, MP/Holland
Charlie van Gelderen/Britain
Marijke Van Hemeldonck, MP
MEP/Belgium
Francois Vercammen/Belgium
Michael Warshawski/Israel
Harry Wicks/Britain
David Winnick, MP/Britain
Jacques Yerna/Belgium
Hocine Zouane/Algeria

For further information, contact Ross Dowson, 40 Homewood Avenue, #1809, Toronto M4Y 2K2
(416)-961-4554

Updated - c. 1987

PROPOSAL FOR FORWARD GROUP BYLAWS REGARDING MEMBERSHIP

OBLIGATIONS, RESPONSIBILITIES AND CADRE CONCEPTS

Preamble

The Forward Group is a revolutionary Marxist cadre-building organization. We have no pretensions to being a mass party or even the nucleus of one. However, in terms of program and history, we have the aspects of a revolutionary vanguard formation -- but we are too small and lacking in influence to view ourselves as a full-fledged vanguard formation. We sustain the best traditions, in terms of theory, transitional program, and historical materialism, of the four internationals going back to Marx and Engels right through to Lenin and Trotsky. While we are not affiliated to any of the Trotskyist internationals, we are sympathetic to the United Secretariat by our historical experience and by our concurrence on most positions on international questions.

The formation of our group, a split from the official section of the United Secretariat's Fourth International, was predicated upon a few key, critical ideas. While we consider ourselves to be internationalists and primarily interested in the reconstruction of an authoritative revolutionary-Marxist International in the traditions of Lenin and Trotsky, we also recognize that this project has been largely unsuccessful. We believe that it is necessary to go through the empirical experience of building a rooted working-class Trotskyist type of vanguard in Canada, not by artificial fusions which are based on "theoretical" agreements but rather based on real experiences in the Canadian class struggle. Two issues that have caused us to separate from our former affiliation to the Canadian section of the Fourth International (the now-defunct League for Socialist Action) were: the NDP and Canadian Nationalism. We believe that an orientation to the NDP is an orientation to the politicized working-class of Canada and that all attempts to disregard or underestimate the NDP as a mass labor party formation are doomed to sectarian irrelevancy. As far as the "national question" in Canada is concerned, our orientation has been

one of sensitive and adroit attention to the form as well as the content of the class struggle in Canada. In reality, it is the prevalence of sectarian insensitivity and lack of understanding of the real dynamics of the Canadian class struggle that still maintains our separation (not to mention the working-class's separation) from other Trotskyist currents.

Our organization has experienced a very serious decline from the 1974 formation of the Socialist League till the Forward Group of today. We no longer have our own bookstore, nor our own paper, nor public forums. Our orientation to the NDP has become *both the centre and focus of our work*; unlike previously when we involved ourselves vigorously in a number of solidarity groups and actions under our own banner. But the decline of the youth radicalization and the latent character of the workers' movement in Canada are the primary objective factors that have led to the decline of the radical left in general, and ourselves in particular. Nonetheless, our orientation to the working-class has not changed. We still see the NDP as being essential to the development of the class struggle. While we may consider the NDP as a detour, it is not a cul-de-sac. It is both "in the way and on the way". Our transitional slogan is "Win the NDP to socialism". We now have accumulated an impressive body of empirical evidence that this orientation is correct. The growing criticism from the labor movement (which has, moreover, positioned itself on the side of "Canadian sovereignty" in the clash with the bosses) of the failure of the NDP leadership in the last federal election is only the most recent confirmation of our prognosis.

In the NDP, we have strategically decided to build the Left Caucus as a broad socialist formation, through which we would play a role, in concert with other socialists, in winning a new hearing in the workers' movement. The Left Caucus Newsletter is the socialists' vehicle for drawing the lessons of the struggles and for educating new potential cadres to the socialist movement. While the Newsletter is not a revolutionary-socialist paper, it is nonetheless a vehicle for expressing the voice of revolutionary socialism as well as other socialist currents in the most developed arena of working-class political action. It is through our efforts in the milieu of the Left Caucus,

by winning well-earned leadership positions, that we can look forward to replenishing the Trotskyist cadre, both in terms of assimilating new experiences and in terms of recruitment of working-class oriented socialists.

Cadre Building

However, it must be said, that we in the Forward Group have shown ourselves to not be fully prepared to assume the responsibilities and tasks that are entailed by our orientation. This is reflected in a lax attitude with respect to our internal meetings, a lack of definite structures, a too narrow concentration of tasks and leadership upon only a few comrades, a lack of coherent and energetic mobilizations. Moreover, we have recruited new comrades into this atmosphere. Our internal educationals are often postponed and inconsistently attended. Yet, in a period in which there is a low level of activity, it is incumbent upon us to focus most seriously on advancing our theoretical and political knowledge both to educate the new cadres and refresh the old. Political homogeneity cannot be automatically assumed; it needs to be consciously developed through serious efforts of discussion, collective decision-making and collective decision-taking.

The Leninist model of democratic centralism with its Cannonist refinements is what must guide us. To build the cadre, we must cease to be an organization of individual revolutionaries and transform ourselves into a conscious collectivity. We must individually assume responsibility for all. We need to nurture depth of understanding and loyalty while developing a critical attitude which expresses independence, creativity and initiative in the framework of contributing to the collectivity. That means political differences and new proposals are discussed freely, but decisions are made by the majority and *binding on all.* Differences of opinion are not to be ignored but properly discussed and democratically decided upon. An open and honest attitude will guide our evaluation of these decisions in the crucible of our common experiences.

It is imperative that all comrades assume responsibility for the healthy growth and development of the group. We need to help one another to develop and understand. Loyalty to our group and our

comrades is indispensable in assuring the success of our cadre-building efforts. Without this common understanding, we will never attain political homogeneity nor retain the valuable lessons of the workers' movement nor gain new insights to guide our collectivity. Thus each comrade is responsible for every other comrade -- as colleagues in action, as leaders who learn from one another, and as cadres of the future vanguard.

Proposals Regarding Membership Rights and Responsibilities

1. All members of the Forward Group will pay a membership fee of $1/month to signify that they are members in good standing.

2. Members of the Forward Group should consider making a regular financial pledge to accumulate funds for various purposes that the Group may designate, e.g. purchases of equipment, literature, subsidizing comrades to go to conventions, etc.

3. As a condition of membership, comrades are required to regularly attend group meetings. Those comrades who miss three meetings in a row without just cause will be subject to suspension or expulsion from the group.

4. Comrades, who for personal reasons are unable to participate in group meetings, may request a formal leave of absence from the group for a fixed duration. Those comrades who are on leave of absence will be required to resume participation in group meetings as soon as they resume political work. Comrades who absent themselves from the activities of the group while maintaining political activity are guilty of violating our most deeply-held norms and, therefore, will be required to submit to the discipline of the group.

5. Group mobilizations are activities designated by the group as key events requiring the participation of all comrades. Participation in group mobilizations is mandatory and subject to the same obligations and discipline as group meetings. Such mobilizations are

opportunities for us to circulate the Left Caucus Newsletter, make new contacts, mobilize other contacts, and demonstrate by our own example necessary leadership for other militants and socialists.

7. Members of the Forward Group who live too far away from Toronto to attend group meetings will be designated as member-at-large. They are required to pay dues and follow the political line and direction of the group to the best of their ability. To assist them, the group secretary will mail copies of group meeting minutes to them.

8. Members of the group who are dropped from membership will be designated as sympathizers if their membership termination is *without prejudice*. That is to say, these comrades would be deemed to have no serious political differences with the group, show willingness to collaborate with the group and to support it (financially, by bringing contacts around, etc.). On the other hand, those whose memberships have been terminated as a result of serious political differences and/or hostility will be deemed *hostile* to the group. The group will then assume the right to regulate comrades' relations to such a *hostile* person, which will include such directives as following a practice of isolating such a person from ourselves, i.e., no political collaboration and secrecy with respect to internal branch matters in any contacts with such a person by individual comrades.

9. The group will annually elect the following officers: meeting organizer, treasurer, secretary. The meeting organizer is responsible for reminding members of group meetings either by mail or phone. The treasurer is responsible for collecting dues and pledges, recording them, and providing reports to the group. The secretary is responsible for taking minutes, establishing the agendas, and following up on directions provided in decisions recorded in the minutes.

10. The group will normally meet once every two weeks. This schedule may occasionally be

altered by a majority decision of a branch meeting.

Concluding Comments

While the minimal norms outlined above may appear overly zealous in relation to our normal standards of operation, they are but a small start towards regeneration of our previous practice. We have every reason to feel optimistic about the prospects for winning new recruits and gaining a wider influence through the Left Caucus. Our current internal practice impedes this. Comrades are not certain of what their obligations are. Our organization is treated with great laxity as evidenced by erratic starting times for meetings, infrequent attendance, and disorganization in discussions. Such a structure is a sieve rather than a forge. No longer can we afford to go into meetings without a common understanding, common line and agreed-upon floor leadership. No longer can we ourselves to plan meetings and interventions without the support and presence of the full cadre. We can no longer maintain the luxury of ambiguous membership if we are to consolidate and grow. A serious organization has to take a serious attitude towards itself. A healthy, consistent and functioning Forward Group can look forward with confidence to renewal. Critical discussions will have to take place with the participation of all members and with all the necessary sorting out. That is how we will deepen our understanding and commitment to one another. The measures we now take are a matter of making a critical choice. To do nothing is to condone dissolution and abandonment of our commitment as revolutionary socialists. To act towards discipline and renewal is to demonstrate confidence, energy, and optimism through mutual confidence in our theory, history and goals.

Joint position of
Gord Doctorow
Bill Clinton

Left Caucus newsletter

Published by the Steering Committee
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Station M, Box 107
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Feb.-March 1988
Vol. 2 No. 3

NDP leaders retreat from anti-war policy

By Gord Doctorow
Oriole

When, at the end of 1987, the heads of the United States and the Soviet Union signed an agreement to dismantle intermediate range (INF) nuclear weapons, the peoples of the world collectively heaved a sigh of relief. For the first time in many years, ordinary people were beginning to shake off the frightening fatalism of an inevitable nuclear confrontation. The anti-war movements gained a new momentum. Public discussion

has turned not only to making deeper inroads to reduce all types of nuclear arsenals but also in reducing conventional arms. Soviet leader Gorbachev's Christmas television message to the American people, which was broadcast around the world, met this new sense of optimism by calling for the reduction of conventional armaments. His words are being matched by significant actions. More recently, he announced his government's intention to withdraw Soviet troops from Afghanistan by mid-May.

Are these not compelling signs for pursuing new peace initiatives by concentrating on disarmament, one may rationally think. But while all this was taking place, the Mulroney government, fortified by the rhetoric of the cold war, presented its "Defence" White Paper last June without a hint of recognition of the new world situation. On the contrary, its White Paper thrust Canada headlong into the forefront of a renewed arms drive. Defence Minister Perrin Beatty proposed in this paper that this country of 24 million accept a military budget of $183 billion over the next 15 years. And what did he offer up to the Canadian people who are just barely starting to experience a renewed hope for the future of this planet? Some $15 billion for 12 nuclear submarines, six new frigates, 35 marine helicopters, 1,200 trucks, tanks, guns, planes, bombs and other lethal goodies that a Rambo-in-charge may wish. No longer will the NORAD surveillance system rely solely on electronic means in the inaccessible areas of the northern Arctic -- military personnel in nuclear submarines will occupy themselves in a state of military preparedness.

Continued on page 5

Rally to ONDP Left Caucus Conference on March 19

By Bill Clinton
Oriole

The 1988 Left Caucus conference is approaching. All NDP members are welcome to attend and to use the opportunity to discuss tasks and perspectives for the coming year and to elect a new Steering Committee.

The conference will take place on March 19 at 519 Church St. Registration will be at 9:00 and will cost $15 ($8 for the underemployed).

The fee includes lunch and the cost of registration for the Left Caucus Newsletter for 1988-89. Speakers will include Dan Heap, delivering a critique on the Defence White Paper, trade unionist Stan Gray on Worker's Health and Safety, Toronto school board trustee Olivia Chow and Ont. Teachers' Federation Vice-President Malcolm Buchanan who will talk on shaping the future NDP education policy, and Canadian Auto Workers' researcher Sam Gindon leading a workshop on a socialist approach to free trade. The lunch-time workshops will be on Education, Free Trade, Women's Reproductive Rights and Violence Against Women and Children.

The 'Last Debate' on Free Trade

By Harry Kopyto
Oakwood

The Canada-U.S. free trade debate is taking place as Canada's economy has become even more integrated with that of the U.S than ever before.

As Gary Teeple points out in his article, *North American Free Trade: The Last Debate* (**Our Generation, 1987**), "Given the degree of interlocking capital and fusion of the U.S. and Canadian economies, they are indistinguishable." Teeple summarizes the definitive character of this process by pronouncing that this is "the last debate," the final elimination of the last vestiges of Canada's sovereignty over its economy.

Seventy-eight per cent of Canadian exports go the U.S., up from 68% a decade ago. Well over half of all trade takes place between U.S. corporations and their branch-plant Canadian subsidiaries, thereby accelerating the branch plant nature of the Canadian economy.

In reality free trade is already a fact of life dictated by U.S. corporations who own or control the commanding heights of the Canadian economy. The Mulroney-Reagan deal is designed to complete the process of full integration by eliminating all tariffs and most other

Continued on page 2

Left Caucus newsletter

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Station M, Box 107
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November 1988
Vol. 2 No. 4

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Vote labour to power in Ottawa

By Harry Kopyto
St. Paul's

The NDP electoral campaign is in a state of severe crisis. Poll after poll has revealed that the party which a mere few weeks earlier stood number one in popularity has now slipped to third place -- low 20% range in the latest polls and still weakening. The architects of the NDP electoral strategy have left us rudderless in the midst of what should have been the most propitious breakthrough for labor politics on Canada in decades. Never has the NDP been so popular before an election, the Liberals so moribund, and the Conservatives so discredited all at the same time. How did the NDP blow it?

'... Care to browse, Sir?'

First and foremost the campaign was Broadbent-personality-oriented, insipid and devoid of significant political content because of its lack of a fundamentally different vision of a future society. Worse, the party has emerged in public perception as the party of opportunism, fudging on its program to win votes.

Broadbent's statement that "I don't rule out a coalition with Liberals; I don't rule out a coalition with the Tories" threw the campaign off from the start. It set back the NDP's historic drive to form a labor government in Ottawa, and undermined its credibility on the free trade issue by offering to unite with the big business, continentalist parties to govern the country together.

The party leadership should have entered the election campaign proud of its program and prepared to consolidate its support by lessening superficial anxiety to

Continued on page 2

NDP is the only choice for women

By Lois Bedard
High Park-Swansea

Women owe it to themselves and to Canada to vote for the only party that has consistently led and supported all progressive legislation affecting women's equality. Women are 52% of the population and more women vote than men. Statistics show that women tend to vote in greater numbers than men for social equality issues. To win women's equality is to work to free men from their chauvinistic chains. Thus a great many women vote for the New Democratic Party that began the fight against the Mulroney Free Trade Deal in Parliament and has continued to fight it along side the women's movement and labor on the hustings today.

The Liberals and Conservatives understand the problems. Ontario Liberal cabinet minister Chaviva Hosek knows the women's movement and even gave high praise to the NDP when she was president of the Na-

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NFLD. Innu protest NATO air base

By Bill Clinton
Oriole

On October 4, 150 Mantagnais-Naskapi Natives (also known as Innu) were arrested for peacefully occupying the main runway at Canadian Forces Base Goose Bay, in Labrador. They were charged by the RCMP with "mischief" and imprisoned in the penitentiary in St. John's Newfoundland.

The Innu's crime was their protest against the low-level flight of military planes from the base illegally sited on Innu land. The federal government, though it recgonized this fact in 1978, has stalled proceedings in deference to its military-industrial priorities and arrogantly refuses to negotiate with the Innu. The reason for this is the importance it attaches to the base. Goose Bay was specifically chosen as a site for the training of NATO pilots because the surrounding terrain closely resembles certain key areas of the Soviet Union. NATO pilots are being trained in low-level flying so they can avoid Soviet radar systems and more easily penetrate Soviet defences, Realizing the marketable qualities of such a training area. the federal government puts great store in it. They have already rented it out to the armed forces of Britain, West Germany and the Netherlands. Belgium and Italy are two more prospective customers the government is cur-

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Labor opens debate on NDP future

By Ross Dowson
St. David-St. George NDP

Notes from an introductory comment by Ross Dowson to a Toronto Conference organized by the Ontario NDP Left Caucus initiating its participation in the debate on the lessons of the November 1988 federal elections.

The debate has been launched with a blistering attack by Autoworkers President Bob White against Ed Broadbent. This debate which has no precedent in the history of Canada's labor party broke out right after the election with the publication of an article on White's contribution titled "Lost Opportunity" in the December 7, 1988 **The Toronto Star**.

—from the Saskatchewan Commonwealth

WILL ED DROP OUT?

The seven page critique by White who is chairperson of the Canadian Labor Congress's Political Action Committee and a vice-president of both the NDP and the Labor Congress, appeared *in toto* in the January issue of **Our Times**, at the same time as the appearance of a critical 12-page contribution over the signatures of Gerard Docquier, national director of the United Steelworkers of America and Leo Gerard, USWA District 6, Director. Steel pioneered inde-

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Quebec NDP assails federal campaign

The following is an analysis of the 1988 federal election campaign of the New Democratic Party of Quebec. It was submitted to members of the federal executive, to the leaderships of the provincial sections and members of the NDP Federal Caucus. The ideas are those of Pierre Graveline, co-president of the NDP Quebec and are generally those held by militants of the Quebec party. It is titled: Ed Broadbent and Quebec: A missed rendez-vous.

The ability to recognize and analyze a defeat with lucidity is essential when undertaking political action.

If one compares the overall results of the New Democratic Party on the 21st of November with those of the 1984 elections the situation is certainly not disastrous: globally the party has maintained its percentage of the overall vote and has elected a dozen more members. However one must deplore the loss of the only seat that the NDP had in the Maritimes and important setbacks in Ontario and Manitoba. In fact, it is the gains in Saskatchewan and Britsh Columbia that staved off a catastrophe for the party. This development is much more attributable to an alignment of forces that exists in Western Canada than to the campaign run at the centre by Mr. Ed Broadbent and his counsellors. And furthermore, the problem posed to the development of the party in other provinces by the inevitable reinforcement ot the character and image of the NDP-Canada as "the Party of the West" cannot be underestimated.

No historical "breakthrough" in Quebec

If we make a comparison between the results in Quebec of the elections of 1984 and 1988 the progress is evident: the party has markedly in-

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Black community mobilizes vs racism

Harry Kopyto
St. Paul's NDP

The need for an independent and representative civilian review board to review complaints and control police abuse is being posed with sharp urgency in Toronto.

The impetus for this demand stems from Toronto's 300,000 strong Black community, which saw two persons killed by policemen in the last few months --Lester Donaldson, already crippled by a police bullet from an earlier incident, shot in his wheelchair while eating in his room by himself in downtown Toronto last August, and Wade Lawson, a 17-year-old high school student, shot last December with an illegal "dum-dum" bullet in the back of his

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Build the movement Bob White says

By Steve Sobol
Glendon Campus NDP (York University)

On March 2, 1989, Bob White, CAW-Canada President, released a letter titled From Defeat to Renewal Our Party: Where Do We Go Now?. It is a response to

Bob White, CAW-Canada president

the electoral defeat of the working-class by corporate Canada during the "free trade" election of November, 1989. Although the NDP won a record number of seats, the Party was virtually shut out from areas east of Ontario despite the fact that it stood number one in popularity a few weeks prior to the election. The election result has forced the NDP to re-examine itself. As a result of this re-evaluation, some within the Party have suggested that the NDP should move more towards the "centre". Included among them are those who feel that the NDP should forget about Quebec since Quebec failed to deliver a single NDP representative. However, Mr. White, along with many other members within the NDP, considers that this would be a tragic mistake.

On stating his view as to where the Party should head after the electoral fiasco, Mr. White did note some important gains. First, he observed that "tens of thousands of Canadians -- particularly working people -- entered politics" by organizing demonstrations and encouraging open and democratic debate. Indeed, they expanded the realm of politics since they did not stop at marking an X on a piece of paper. Second, he pointed out that the election exposed the "neutrality" myth of the Business Council

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Broadbent supports market economy

By Barb Mersereau
Hamilton NDP

This article discusses some issues raised in Ed Broadbent's March 4/89 speech to the NDP federal council meeting. It questions the rightist drift that seems to underlie statements like: "As we close the 20th century the serious debate about the future. . . is not about the desirability of a Market Economy. For most thoughtful people that debate is now closed. Market economies have been responsible for the production of more goods and services since the second World War than were produced in all of previous human history. . . . ***We New Democrats believe in the marketplace*** *including: private investment decisions, reduced tariffs, private property, the free disposal of assets, the right to make a profit, decentralized decision-making."*

Which rights have priority, those of private property to make a profit no matter what the cost, or public access to clean air and water, for example? And what does "believe in the marketplace" mean? That it is the best instrument to provide for social needs such as health and education for all?

Can we agree with Mr. Broadbent that capitalism's market economy can begin to address the modern social morass we are stuck in? He says: "It's only by having social democratic policies by the state representing the priorities of the majority that the values of community and equality can flourish within a market society. **Social democrats and conservatives both understand this.** The difference is we believe the power of government should be used to this end."

First, let's understand clearly that a market economy's goal is to sell goods at a profit to its investors. To say it creates wealth, jobs, and boom times are not its purposes. They are incidental. The purpose of selling commodities is to create wealth -- for the owners of capital. Why else would anyone be interested in manufacturing doll clothes, flavored toothpaste, or automatic juice squeezers?

We could forgive the marketplace's frivolities and worse if there were no hungry, homeless and sick people in the world. There is a lot of evaporation in the "trickle down" theory. It's a very long way down indeed, for most people.

A common myth is the market economy produces what people want. This notion ignores such realities as the fact that many can't afford what they "want" (need) -- a roof over their heads and food on the table.

Capitalism is not unlike the dreaded "civil service", so loathed and derided by Big Business and its ideologues. A person working for another person has no more initiative than a person working for a government. Lacking capital, most people do not and cannot

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NDP future depends on left leadership

By Harry Kopyto
St. Paul's NDP

Despite former BC NDP leader Dave Barrett's last-minute entry into the NDP leadership campaign, the pickings for delegates to the upcoming federal convention looking for a socialist direction look slim indeed.

Barrett's entry into the campaign highlights the lack of discussion about fundamental issues that has characterized the leadership race from the start. In his flagrant attempt at a pro-western, Quebec-bashing tide, his campaign detracts from the central burning issue before New Democrats: how to restore the Party to its roots as a socialist movement seeking to expropriate the corporate rulers who own the commanding heights of the economy and establish socialist democracy and the rule of labor.

Despite the subtle nuances that are espoused by the various other contenders for the Party's top post, none of the candidates distinguished themselves from the Broadbent leadership strategy which resulted in the sacrifice of party principle on the alter of electoral opportunism in the disastrous election campaign last winter. None of the candidates have squarely contested Broadbent's summary assessment in his swansong speech March 4 that "We New Democrats believe in the marketplace including...private property, the right to make a profit...". None of them has posed the need to keep the NDP alive as an activist organisation made up of members involved in the mass movements that are our Party's lifeblood--the environmental movement, the women's movement, Quebecois nationalists, the Native people's movement and most importantly, the labor movement, which defines our Party's character and loyalty.

While individual leadership contestants have attempted to carve out a niche for themselves by calling for reform, the attacks made on the "party elite", the call for more passion in fighting for "social justice", the talk about "renewed leadership" remains largely rhetoric. This is so because none of these criticisms has been made within the framework of a rounded socialist program.

This is a program which poses basic solutions to the problems of capitalism, a program whose purpose is to build the NDP as a movement and to develop a strong core of politically active and educated cadres.

To the people of Canada whose health is threatened by industrial pollutants spewed into our rivers and lakes and the air we breathe, who face an irreversible ecological crisis within a decade, who continue

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NDP must be voice for abortion choice

By Kristina Montes Saier
Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics

The fundamental right of women to make reproductive choices is again under attack by the federal government. It is threatening to bring back a restrictive criminal law sometime this fall.

Such a law would severely contradict the Supreme Court of Canada's landmark decision on abortion in 1988 striking down the old criminal law as inequitable and unfair. Women are not criminals!

Any new abortion law is an infringement on a woman's right to make her own decision . Forcing women to carry an unwanted pregnancy to term amounts to reproductive slavery.

Campaign against re-criminalization of abortion.

Chantal Daigle clearly understood this point. The Daigle case, in which a disgruntled boyfriend used an injunction to prevent her from having an abortion, encompassed the broader issue of state control over a woman's life -- hampering her ability to live and work as she chooses and endangering her health by preventing an early abortion.

Moreover, the Daigle injunction was nothing more than a covert, nasty form of sexual harassment. Must women suffer such humiliation at the hands of men and the state? Is this equality?

Free and equal access to abortion is an essential precondition of women being able to control their bodies and their lives. Abortion must be a matter of health policy, not criminal law. Both levels of government must provide the resources so that every woman has prompt access to abortion and all other needed reproductive care in her own community. This means improving care in hospitals. Most importantly a network of publicly funded women's reproductive health centres should provide not only

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